
Conjunction, Contiguity, Contingency

On Relationships Between Events in
the Egyptian and Coptic Verbal Systems

Leo Depuydt



CONJUNCTION CONTIGUITY
CONTINGENCY

This page intentionally left blank

***CONJUNCTION
CONTIGUITY
CONTINGENCY***

**On Relationships between Events
In the Egyptian and Coptic Verbal Systems**

Leo Depuydt

New York Oxford
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
1993

Oxford University Press

Oxford New York Toronto
Delhi Bombay Calcutta Madras Karachi
Kuala Lumpur Singapore Hong Kong Tokyo
Nairobi Dar es Salaam Cape Town
Melbourne Auckland

and associated companies in

Berlin Ibadan

Copyright © 1993 by Leo Depuydt

Published by Oxford University Press, Inc.
200 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016

Oxford is a registered trademark of Oxford University Press, Inc.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication
may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted,
in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical,
photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior
permission of Oxford University Press.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Depuydt, Leo.

Conjunction, contiguity, contingency:
on relationships between events
in the Egyptian and Coptic verbal systems / Leo Depuydt.
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-19-508092-0

1. Egyptian language—Verb. 2. Coptic language—Verb. I. Title.
PJ1181.D46 1993 493'.1—dc20 92-29818

9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Printed in the United States of America
on acid-free paper

For
Judy Dorn

This page intentionally left blank

Contents

Preface: On Relationships between Events xi

I CONJUNCTION, 1

1. Introduction 4
2. The Conjunctive as "Con-joiner" 9
3. The Conjunctive Following Second Tenses 14
4. The Conjunctive Following the Negative Imperative
of *gmj* "find" and *nau* "see" 35
5. Coptic *nci* in the Conjunctive Chain 42
6. Negations in the Conjunctive Chain 45
 - A. The Two Levels of the Conjunctive Chain 45
 - B. Negation on the Level of the Compound Action 45
 - C. Types of Negations 49
 - D. A Comparison of Types I.c and II.a 51
 - E. A Comparison of Types I.d and II.b 52
 - F. A Comparison of Types I.d and II.a 56
 - G. Types of Negation: Examples 59
7. Semantic Types of Conjunctive Chains 67
8. The Promissive Future and the Conjunctive in Coptic 75
 - A. Introduction 75
 - B. The Function of the Conjugation Base *tare* 76
 - C. The Promissive Future and the Conjunctive:
A Comparison of Their Functions 80
9. Translating the Conjunctive 94
 - A. Omission of Elements 94
 - B. An Etymological Translation 96
10. Relationship of the Conjunctive with What Precedes 98
11. Conjunction beyond the Conjunctive 103
 - A. Equivalents of the Conjunctive in Egyptian
and Other Languages 103

- B. The Middle Egyptian Predecessor of the Conjunctive 108
- C. A Con-joining Construction in Nominal Phrases 109
- 12. Concluding Remarks 113
- 13. A Bibliography of the Conjunctive 115

II CONTIGUITY, 117

- 1. Introduction: The Notion of "Contiguity" 125
- 2. Contiguity in *Sinuhe* B 200 129
- 3. Contrastive Emphasis and Contiguity 140
- 4. Translating Contiguous Events 142
- 5. Morphological and Syntactic Criteria 145
- 6. Events Prone to Contracting a Relationship of Contiguity 152
 - A. Transitions from Night to Day 153
 - B. Transitions from Day to Night 160
 - C. Another Transition from One Period of Time to Another 166
 - D. Expressions Referring to the End Point of a Motion 167
- 7. Expressions of Contiguity in the Story of *Sinuhe* 178
- 8. *ḥ^c.n sdm.n=f* 186
- 9. Excursus: *jw* "come" and *jn* "bring" 189
- 10. Simultaneity as an Expression of Contiguity 192
- 11. An Expression of Contiguity Dating to the New Kingdom 197

III CONTINGENCY, 201

- 1. *Sdm.ḥr=f/ḥr=f sdm=f* as Contingent Aorist 208
 - A. From Egyptian *ḥr* to Coptic *ša* 208
 - B. *sdm.ḥr=f* and *jw=f sdm=f* in Middle Egyptian 212
 - C. Examples of *sdm.ḥr=f* with Implied Conditions 214
 - D. Contingent and General Aorist in the Papyrus Ebers 222
 - E. Neutralization between *sdm.ḥr=f* and *jw=f sdm=f* 224
 - F. Condition and Result 225
 - G. The Aorist after Middle Egyptian 227
 - H. General and Specific Contingency 232

2. *Sḏm.k3=f/k3(=f) sḏm=f* as Contingent Future 234
 - A. *Sḏm.k3=f/k3=f sḏm=f* in Conditional Sentences 234
 - B. Examples of *sḏm.k3=f* with Implied Conditions 237
 - C. *K3(=f) sḏm=f* in the Letters of the Kahun Archive 240
 - D. Contrary-to-fact Conditions 241
 - E. The Particle *k3* 242
 - F. Neutralization between Contingent
and General Future 243
 - G. The Contingent Future in Coptic 244
3. *Sḏm.jn=f* as Contingent Past 247
4. Conclusion 249
 - A. The Contingent Tenses of Middle Egyptian 249
 - B. Translating the Contingent Tenses 250
 - C. The *Conditionnel* in French and Other Parallels
to the Contingent Tenses outside Egyptian 251
 - D. Contingency and Contrast 255

INDEXES 257

Index of Passages Cited 257

1. Old Egyptian and Middle Egyptian 257
2. Late Egyptian 260
3. Demotic 262
4. Coptic 262
 - a. Bohairic 262
 - b. Lycopolitan 262
 - c. Middle Egyptian 262
 - d. Sahidic 262

Index of Authors Cited 266

General Index 272

This page intentionally left blank

PREFACE

On Relationships Between Events

The modern scientific study of Egyptian originated in the 1870s and 1880s in Berlin. While the recovery of the language had begun several decades earlier in 1822 with Champollion's decipherment of the hieroglyphic script, Egyptology had to wait for Adolf Erman, the founder of what came to be known as the Berlin School, to place the study of ancient Egyptian on a solid footing. Ever since, an incremental method has ensured the slow but steady progress of our insight into the structure of the language.

The present volume examines relationships between events and the ways in which these relationships are expressed in the language by special verb forms and syntactic constructions.

The three abstract nouns featuring in the title of this book are not found in works on Egyptian or Coptic grammar. Since each denotes a phenomenon which, I believe, has not hitherto received attention, new phenomena have required new terms. Coining terms is to a certain extent arbitrary, and perhaps better alternatives could have been or will be suggested. In the mean time, it may be noted that the first component of each term, deriving from Latin *cum* "with," suitably reflects the fact that all three phenomena concern the grammatical

expression of relationships that certain events entertain *with* other events.

Egyptian and Coptic verb forms are usually thought of and studied as expressions of single events, regardless of the relationship of these events with other events. Three facets of verb forms as expressions of single events are tense, mood, and syntactic function.

Tense specifies when an event occurs in relation to the time of speaking.¹ An example is the Middle Egyptian future tense *jw=f r sdm* "He will hear," which refers to events occurring after the time of speaking. *Mood* refers to attitudes of the speaker toward the likelihood or desirability of an event. An example is the etymological descendant of *jw=f r sdm*, the Coptic future *e=f-e-sōtm*, which roughly corresponds to English "He shall hear" or "May he hear." Yet a third feature of verb forms is *syntactic function*. According to the Standard Theory (see below), verb forms may be substantival, adjectival, or adverbial, that is, occupy the same position as substantives, adjectives, or adverbs in the sentence.

But less study has been devoted to verb forms as expressions of *relationships between events*. Perhaps the most familiar such relationship is temporal. Events may be viewed as positioned on a time line on which they are either anterior to, simultaneous with, or posterior to one another. Relationships of anteriority, simultaneity, and posteriority can be expressed in Egyptian by what may be called *relative tense*. Relative tense is based on the following principle: *When a verb form is subordinated in a dependent clause to a main sentence, the tense of that verb form is also subordinated to the tense of the main sentence.*

¹ It might be argued, though, that also tense expresses relationships between events, namely a temporal relationship between a certain event and the act of pronouncing or writing the statement in which the event is described. For example, the past tense refers to an event that occurs before the event of speaking or writing.

Relative tense in Egyptian differs from the way in which events are usually related to one another temporally in English. For example, when the adverbial *sdm.n=f*, a past tense, is subordinated to a main sentence in the present tense, it can be rendered as "when I *have* heard." But when the same form is subordinated to a main sentence in the past tense, it is the equivalent of "when I *had* heard." Or, English has two forms where Egyptian has one. The English past perfect in "when he had heard" expresses both absolute past tense, that is, past tense in relation to the time of speaking, and relative past tense, that is, past tense in relation to the event expressed by the main sentence.

But English also has a verb form expressing relative tense, namely the gerund. In fact, the best literal English equivalent of the past adverbial *sdm.n=f* mentioned above is "he *having* heard," for two reasons. First, "he having heard" expresses relative tense in that it can be subordinated without change in form, like its Egyptian counterpart, both to present and past main sentences as an equivalent of either "when he has heard" or "when he had heard." Second, "he having heard" expresses an unspecified circumstance, whereas standard translations of Egyptian adverbial clauses use conjunctions such as "while" and "because," adding to the translation nuances that are not in the original. Unfortunately, gerundial constructions such as "he having heard," though perfect as literal translations, are rarely idiomatically appropriate in contemporary English.

Another illustration of relative tense in Middle Egyptian is the use of *n sdm.n=f* "He does not hear." *N sdm.n=f* can be both independent and subordinated. A parallel from Arabic is the imperfect *yaktubu* can be both independent as an equivalent of "He writes" and subordinated in the compound verb form *kāna yaktubu* "He was writing" (literally: "He was while he writes"). It follows that, when *n sdm.n=f* occurs in a narrative chain, it is not likely to be independent as an equivalent of "He does not hear" because the present tense

does not suit the past context. In such instances, the form must be subordinated in a circumstantial clause to the preceding past main sentence, with as literal translation "he not hearing" and as more idiomatic equivalents "while he did not hear" or "since he did not hear." An example is *pWestcar* 12,3 "She went about the room, without finding (*n gm.n=s*) the place in which it was done."² The literal rendition of *n gm.n=s* is "she not finding," the adverbial conversion of the homonymous *n gm.n=s* "She does not find."

Relative tense has served as an illustration of how relationships among events find expression in Egyptian. However, it seems there should be more to relationships between events than mere anteriority, simultaneity, and posteriority. The present study is an attempt to support this claim by discussing three types of relationships between events that are expressed by the morphology (Parts I and III) or the syntax (Part II) of the verbal systems of Egyptian.

Part I deals with events that belong closely together as compound notions. Part II discusses events that succeed each other rapidly to the point of overlapping or coinciding. Part III examines sequences of events in which the occurrence of one event depends on that of another. These three types of relationships are referred to in single word terms as "conjunction," "contiguity," and "contingency." Summaries of each thesis are found at the beginning of the Parts.

The first topic pertains to the second phase of Egyptian, encompassing the three stages Late Egyptian, Demotic, and Coptic, the second and third topics chiefly relate to the first phase, encompassing the two stages Old and Middle Egyptian. Together, the three topics pertain to all stages of Egyptian, spanning a period of about 4,000 years.

² This interpretation has already been suggested tentatively by the eminent Oxford Egyptologist Battiscombe GUNN in his *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1924), 113-14. For the text of *pWestcar*, see Part III n. 51.

To make these pages more accessible to scholars whose main interests do not lie in grammar, technical terms have been avoided as much as possible. This makes this work perhaps more philological than linguistic, if the distinction between philology and linguistics is a valid one. Yet a modicum of linguistic formalism is difficult to escape in this type of investigation. As mentioned earlier, even a few neologisms are introduced. But I hope that the increase of new terms goes hand in hand with an increase of newly observed phenomena.

The present work, and this remark applies especially to Part II, operate within the perimeters of the so-called Standard Theory or Polotskyan theory. The designation "Standard Theory" is used here as a convenient cover term for contributions by the late Hans Jacob Polotsky, who was Professor of Egyptian and Semitic Linguistics at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and by his school to Egyptian and Coptic grammar. These contributions are empirically solid and therefore generally accepted. In a narrower sense, the term "Standard Theory" refers to a theoretical model for the study of Egyptian sentence structure also developed and refined by Polotsky. This model is based on the principle called "conversion." According to this principle, "sentences of all types can be transposed through various grammatical means into one of the three non-verbal word classes: substantive, adjective, and adverb. . . . The original sentence becomes an embedded sentence part (*Satzteil*), a sentence component (*Satzglied*) that has substantival, adjectival, or adverbial meaning."³ As Polotsky has shown, this method of interpreting much of the structure of language emerged in the early part of the nineteenth century and has been applied in the past century and a half in different ways in standard grammars of many languages. This model does not answer every question regar-

³ POLOTSKY, *Grundlagen des koptischen Satzbaus: Erste Hälfte*, American Studies in Papyrology 27 (Decatur, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1987), 1 § 1.

ding Egyptian grammar, but it explains so much in an eminently harmonious way that it will no doubt survive in some form or other as Egyptian linguistics progresses.⁴

Hieroglyphic examples laid out in columns in the original have been arranged here in lines for obvious reasons. This had to be done with some degree of subjectivity. When modern editions also have lines, it is their layout that has been followed. The reader will need to consult a facsimile for the original arrangement of the signs in columns.

I have written this study and prepared it as camera-ready copy with WordPerfect 5.1 and Glyph 3.31⁵ in the period between August 1986 and November 1992 on the Yale and Brown campuses. The findings of Part I were presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt held at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia in April 1989. I read a summary of Part II at the Meeting of the American Oriental Society in Cambridge, Massachusetts in April 1992. The results of Part III were the subject of a communication made at the Fifth International Congress of Egyptology in Cairo in November 1988.⁶

⁴ For an articulate description of the genesis of the Standard Theory of Egyptian grammar, with bibliography, see Wolfgang SCHENKEL, *Einführung in die altägyptische Sprachwissenschaft*, Orientalistische Einführungen (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990), 145–58. See also my “The Standard Theory of the ‘Emphatic’ Forms in Classical (Middle) Egyptian: A Historical Survey,” *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, 14 (1983): 13–54. For critical discussions of the Standard Theory see, for instance, many of the contributions in *Crossroad: Chaos or the Beginning of a New Paradigm. Papers from the Conference on Egyptian Grammar, Helsingør 28–30 May 1986*, The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies Publications 1 (Copenhagen: CNI, 1986), and in *Lingua Aegyptia: Journal of Egyptian Language Studies* 1 (1991); see also Mark COLLIER in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 76 (1990): 73–85, 77 (1991): 23–42.

⁵ Certain hieroglyphic signs have been standardized according to the “Gardiner list.” I also regret not having been able to use the Coptic font that is announced for a next version of Glyph.

⁶ Part III is a revised version of an article that appeared under the title “The Contingent Tenses of Egyptian” in *Orientalia*, 58 (1989): 1–27. The

I owe a considerable intellectual debt to the scholars who have made fundamental contributions to the topics discussed in this monograph or who have provided comments on extracts submitted to their judgment, saving me from error on many points.

Generous with their time and counsel have been Erhart Graefe, Bentley Layton, Leonard Lesko, Richard Pierce, H.J. Polotsky, Hans Quecke, John Ray, Stephen Thompson, and above all Wolf-Peter Funk of Laval University, Quebec and Wolfgang Schenkel of the University of Tübingen.

For support or suggestions of one sort or another I am thankful to Sarah Groll, Janet Johnson, Antonio Loprieno, David Silverman, and W. Kelly Simpson. Among those whose writings have greatly furthered my work are—in addition to several of the above-mentioned—Joris Borghouts, Éric Doret, John Foster, Paul Frandsen, Friedrich Junge, Mordechai Gilula, Miriam Lichtheim, Ariel Shisha-Halevy, Pascal Vernus, Edward Wente, and Wolfhart Westendorf. But the propositions formulated in this work are my own and it is I who am accountable for their shortcomings.

I also sincerely thank Cynthia Read, Paul Schlotthauer, Peter Ohlin, and Ellen Fuchs, editors of Oxford University Press, New York, for guidance and valuable advice, as well as Mark Stone for drawing a detail from the reliefs in the tomb of Horemheb for the cover of this book.

For authorizing a subvention towards the production of this book out of Brown University's Faculty Development Fund, I am grateful to Bryan Shepp, dean of the faculty, and for logistic support of various sorts, to Brown's Department of Egyptology. Printers' Service and Supply, Inc. of Providence printed the cameraready copy efficiently and expediently.

The period in which this work was produced coincides with a new era in the modern study of ancient Egyptian, one in which scholars of many nationalities have been able to meet at the First International Conference on Egyptian Grammar ("Crossroads I"), organized by Gertie Englund and Paul Frandsen at Helsingør in 1986, and at the Second International Conference ("Crossroads II"), convened at the University of California at Los Angeles by Antonio Loprieno in 1990. This period has also witnessed the birth of a new journal, *Lingua Aegyptia: Journal of Egyptian Language Studies* (Göttingen and Los Angeles), exclusively devoted to the study of ancient Egyptian.

The present work owes a debt of inspiration and encouragement to this new climate of unprecedented global cooperation and of extraordinarily hopeful prospects for the future study of the Egyptian language.⁷ The title of an exquisite lecture I once had the pleasure of attending described Egyptian art as "the splendor of Egypt." If art is Egypt's splendor, then its language—ultimate expression of the Egyptian mind—must be its brilliance.

But this preface must conclude on a sad note. As the present work was nearing completion, Professor Polotsky, one of the great scholars of all times, passed away in Jerusalem on the morning of Shabbat, 10 August 1991. Egyptology's garden still abounds with beautiful flowers, but there is now a little less light.

Providence, R.I.
November 1992

L.D.

⁷ Goals for the 1990s have been formulated eloquently by Wolfgang SCHENKEL, "Sprachforschung und Textquellen: Integrierte Datenverarbeitung als konkrete Utopie," in *Akten des Vierten Internationalen Ägyptologenkongresses München 1985. Band 3: Linguistik — Philologie — Religion, Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur: Beiheft 3* (Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 1989), 1–27.

I

Conjunction

The conjunctive is, I believe, the most intriguing of Coptic verb forms.
Ariel Shisha-Halevy, *Coptic Grammatical Categories*

In what follows, it is argued that one of the functions of the Late Egyptian, Demotic, and Coptic conjunctive—also its original function—is *to present two or more events jointly as single notions*.

The conjunctive is extremely frequent in the stages of Egyptian in which it is found, Late Egyptian, Demotic, and Coptic. One might therefore *a priori* expect that it would have an equivalent in English that also occurs frequently and roughly corresponds to it in function. Indeed, one area of the English language that overlaps to a considerable extent with the functional realm of the conjunctive in Egyptian is illustrated by the example “Don’t drink and drive.” The absence of “don’t” before “drive” is significant. “Don’t drink and drive” differs in meaning from “Don’t drink and don’t drive.” “Don’t drink and don’t drive” refers to *two separate notions*, whereas “Don’t drink and drive” refers to a *single notion*.

The feature corresponding in English and many other languages to the conjunctive in Egyptian is therefore *absence of certain elements*.

I have deliberately chosen the term "absence of elements" rather than "omission of elements." The term "omission" would falsely imply that "Don't drink and drive" is derived from "Don't drink and don't drive" after the omission or "erasure" of "don't." But this cannot be the case because the latter is diametrically opposed to the former in meaning. Note, however, that the term "omission" has been used in chapter 9 (§§ 57–65) below to refer to a *translation device* whereby one omits something that is found in the original.

The significant absence of elements as an equivalent of the Egyptian conjunctive is very frequent in English. There is hardly a compound sentence in which it is not found. An example is as follows: "The doctor wrote him a prescription and asked him how his oldest son was getting on," rather than *"The doctor wrote him a prescription and *he* asked him how his oldest son was getting on." Another example is "The boys laughed and so did Mary," instead of *"The boys laughed and Mary *laughed* too."

In many instances, the difference in nuance between presence and absence of certain elements may seem elusive. Compare examples in which there is absence, such as "She drank her coffee and [*she* is absent here] sat taking in everything about her visitor," "She had known him when he was a poor country boy, and [*she* is absent here] was boastfully proud of his success," and "The boys laughed harder than ever, and [*they* is absent here] exclaimed. . . ." with other instances in which there is repetition, such as "He had known Rosicky almost ever since he could remember, and *he* had a deep affection for Mrs. Rosicky" and "The woman had too many children and too much work, and *she* was no manager" (*italics added*).¹

The same remark applies to the conjunctive in Egyptian. It seems often difficult to assess why a conjunctive is

¹ The English examples in this section have been taken from Willa Cather's *Neighbor Rosicky*.

chosen to follow a given verb form, for instance a future tense, instead of repeating that verb form. Yet the conjunctive must express a different nuance, however slight, even when a large number of events is concatenated by a chain of conjunctives.

On the other hand, there are examples in which the difference between using a conjunctive and not using it is unmistakable, just as, in English, "Don't drink and drive" clearly differs in meaning from "Don't drink and don't drive." Since such examples offer the best conditions for observing the function of the conjunctive, it is they that will have pride of place in what follows.

Finally, it may be noted that, quite by coincidence, the name "conjunctive" fits its function quite well, since the conjunctive "con-joins" actions and therefore expresses what may be called "conjunction." The resulting single notions will be termed "compound actions."

INTRODUCTION

1 This study is about the function of the conjunctive. Although it discusses many details about the use of the conjunctive, its principal aim is to reflect in general on what the conjunctive expresses and to suggest a definition of its basic meaning.

In what has been written about the conjunctive, there is general agreement regarding what is thought to be its most typical feature. The conjunctive is compared to the chameleon because, depending on the environment, it changes function just as the chameleon changes color; along the same lines, the conjunctive is said to be “impressed” by the function of a previous verb form, as wax by a seal.² It is also regarded as weak because it is unable to generate a meaning of its own but has to be assisted by other verb forms.³ It is even accused of

² These two images are taken from Joris F. BORGHOUTS’ pioneering study, “A New Approach to the Late Egyptian Conjunctive,” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 106 (1979): 14–24, at 15, and from Ariel SHISHA-HALEVY’s seminal chapter on the conjunctive in his *Coptic Grammatical Categories: Structural Studies in the Syntax of Shenoutean Sahidic*, *Analecta Orientalia* 53 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1986), 185–214, at 187 § 7.1.2.1. See also SHISHA-HALEVY, *Coptic Grammatical Chrestomathy: A Course for Academic and Private Study*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 30 (Leuven: Peeters Press, 1988), 143, where the conjunctive is described as a verb form “continuing-and-representing (‘carrying on,’ extending) conjugation forms.”

³ “[Der Konjunktiv] ist zu schwach, um für sich allein diese nachdrückliche Bedeutung anzunehmen; er findet sich daher selten allein” (Ludwig STERN, *Koptische Grammatik* [Leipzig: T.O. Weigel, 1880; reprint Leipzig: Biblio Verlag, 1971], 281–82 § 448; cf. 277 § 477). STERN is referring here to the alleged “final” or “consecutive” meaning of the conjunctive. He is correct in stating that the conjunctive does not have it; but neither does the conjunctive derive it from a neighboring verb form, as he suggests.

contributing to the poverty of the language because it is used in an unimaginative way to express all sorts of functions.⁴ This view leads to the classroom practice according to which, when encountering a conjunctive, one should look back to a preceding verb form and take the conjunctive as a sort of shorthand for the function of that verb form.⁵ Following a future the conjunctive seems to act like a future. Preceded by an imperative it turns into an imperative.

2 The present study aims to show that the conjunctive does not copy its function from other verb forms, as is commonly assumed, but has a function of its own. For this purpose, the study will focus mainly on the *conjunctive chain*, that is, the sequence of an initial verb form followed by one or more conjunctives. The following definition is suggested here for the function of the conjunctive: The chain *unifies a series of two or more verbal notions into one single verbal notion with two or*

⁴ "Wie das Syrische ermangelt die koptische Sprache des Formenreichtums des griechischen Verbums; sie . . . lässt den Conjunctiv alle möglichen Formen vertreten" (Carl SCHMIDT, *Der erste Clemensbrief in altkoptischer Übersetzung* [Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1908], 11).

⁵ What follows is a selection of earlier statements reflecting the view still current nowadays. "Adhibetur post aliud verbum, cuius et tempus et modus repraesentat" (Amedeo PEYRON, *Grammatica Linguae Copticae* [Turin: Ex Regio Typographeo, 1841], 106). "[The conjunctive] carries on the foregoing tense, usually without repetition of the sign of that tense in the translation" ([George HORNER,] *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect Otherwise Called Memphitic and Bohairic*, 4 vols. [Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1898–1905], vol. 1, xxiv–xxv). "Der Konjunktiv . . . kann wie im Koptischen . . . sämtliche Tempora ablösen" (Wilhelm SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Grammatik* [Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1925], 70 § 141). "Ein Verbum, das im Konjunktiv steht, schliesst sich an ein ihm vorhergehendes Verbum an, und erhält dessen grammatische Bedeutung. Es ist also je nachdem als Futurum, als Imperativ, als Infinitiv, u.s.w. aufzufassen" (Adolf ERMAN, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* [Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1933²], 277 § 577).

*more components.*⁶ This single verbal notion will be called a compound action.

REMARKS

Two remarks are in order here pertaining, first, to the alleged final or consecutive meaning of the conjunctive, and second, to its supposed past meaning.

1. Contrary to what has occasionally been assumed, the conjunctive never expresses purpose or result. A final or consecutive clause is merely a convenient—and often even necessary—translation device. This device is employed and briefly discussed in the first three examples of § 12 I.A.

2. Another fairly widespread belief regarding the conjunctive is that it can occasionally refer to the past tense.⁷ But in fact, in what are perhaps the best known examples that have been adduced in favor of this opinion, two passages from the Tale of Two Brothers in Late Egyptian, the conjunctive is preceded by a circumstantial of the present tense. It is necessary to call to mind here the principle of relative tense discussed at some length in the Preface to this study (see pages xii–xiii): When a verb form is subordinated in a dependent clause to a main sentence, the tense of that verb form is also subordinated to the tense of the main sentence. It follows that a present tense adverbial form such as *iw=f hr sdm* is to be rendered as “while he *is* hearing” when subordinated to a main sentence in the present, but as “while he *was* hearing” when subordinated to a main sentence in the past tense. However, even when it is rendered as “while he *was* hearing,” the Late Egyptian subordinate clause is and remains in the present tense from the Egyptian point of view—only it is present *in*

⁶ A provisional formulation and brief discussion of this definition is found in my “New Horizons in Coptic and Egyptian Linguistics,” *Chronique d’Égypte*, 53 (1988): 391–406, at 397–401.

⁷ For a survey, with examples and bibliography, see Edward F. WENTE’s trailblazing study, “The Late Egyptian Conjunctive as a Past Continuative,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 21 (1969): 304–11.

relation to the tense of the main sentence, which happens to refer to a past event.

In the two passages from the Tale of Two Brothers, then, namely 1,4-5 and 4,4,⁸ a conjunctive chain is headed by *jw p3jj=f sn m-s3 n3jj=f j3wt*. The literal translation of this clause, according to suggestions made in the Preface, is "his brother being behind his cattle." The clause *jw p3jj=f sn m-s3 n3jj=f j3wt* is the circumstantial conversion of *p3jj=f sn m-s3 n3jj=f j3wt* "His brother is behind his cattle (that is, is following his cattle)," which is an adverbial sentence referring to the present tense. When the clause is converted by *jw*, it remains in the present tense, though it is now no longer present with reference to the time of speaking but in relation to the element to which it has been subordinated, which happens to be past. In English, the literal rendition of *jw p3jj=f sn m-s3 n3jj=f j3wt*, namely "his brother being behind his cattle," is not adequate. To achieve an idiomatic translation, it is necessary to use a conjunction such as "while" with the past tense "was," as follows: "while he *was* behind his cattle." However, this does not change the fact that the Egyptian original is in the *present* tense, even if in relation to the main sentence.

Because *jw p3jj=f sn m-s3 n3jj=f j3wt* is a present tense, it will behave like a present tense and be followed by conjunctives and not by the narrative equivalent of the conjunctive (§ 14), the form *jw=f hr (tm) sdm*. This is confirmed by the fact that there is no certain case of *jw=f hr (tm) sdm* following a circumstantial of the present in Late Egyptian. But *jw=f hr (tm) sdm* is used instead of the conjunctive when the chain of actions is headed by an expression referring to the past, as in the Tale of Two Brothers at 4,6 and 5,7, in which events are reported similar to those found in the other examples from the same text cited above.

Other examples have been advanced in favor of the theory that the conjunctive can have past meaning. But one has the impression that they can also be explained along the same lines as the two examples from the Tale of Two Brothers discussed above.

⁸ Alan H. GARDINER, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 1 (Brussels: Egyptologische Stichting Koningin Elizabeth, 1932 = 1972²), 10,3 and 6,7.

3 How should the unifying effect of the conjunctive be understood on a semantic level? What can this “one-thing-ness” expressed by the conjunctive chain be compared to?

The meaning of many verbs, perhaps most, can be analyzed into component actions. For instance, “eat” involves a coordination of several actions by the arms and other parts of the body. Likewise, the action “build” comprises a large number of individual actions usually performed by several different actors. But in order to refer to these actions, there is no need to list every component action, because there are words, “eat” and “build,” that say it all. These words make it possible to refer to a chain of actions as a unit.

However, not all chains of actions that are perceived as components of a single compound action can be referred to by a word of their own. Evidence provided below indicates that it is the task of grammatical constructions such as the conjunctive chain in Egyptian to express single notions consisting of two or more components in much the same way as words like “build” and “eat” do. By and large, what single lexemes do lexically, conjunctive chains achieve syntactically.

Most comparisons involve differences as well as similarities. Obviously, there are important distinctions between single lexemes like “build” and grammatical constructions like the conjunctive. For one, each component action is explicitly mentioned in the conjunctive chain. The conjunctive chain is therefore much more specific. However, what matters for the present effort to grasp the “one-thing-ness” suggested by the evidence that is to follow is not how single lexemes and conjunctive chains differ but what they share.

THE CONJUNCTIVE AS “CON-JOINER”

4 Languages are by and large different solutions for the same problem. It comes therefore as no surprise that most Egyptian grammatical categories have approximate equivalents in other languages, though the external form of these equivalents may differ considerably. Since the conjunctive is so common in Egyptian and Coptic, there are bound to be equally common grammatical features in English and other languages which roughly correspond to it.

As regards English, an equivalent of the conjunctive is exemplified in the following sentence.

“Don’t drink and drive.”

What deserves attention here is the absence of “don’t” before the second verb. The presence of a second “don’t” would result in a different meaning, namely two independent orders “Don’t drink” and “Don’t drive.” On the other hand, in “Don’t drink and drive,” “drink and drive” is prohibited as a single notion (see §§ 2 and 3). This is clear from the following example in which that single notion is treated as a singular.

“Virtually everyone here said drinking and driving *is* wrong.” (*The New York Times* of 14 August 1988, A14, column 4, italics added)

The absence of a second “don’t” is also found in the English translation of the following Coptic and Demotic sentences which contain conjunctives.

mpr-sōtm . . . ero=i e=i-jō n-nai n=tetn-ebš tēutn e-n-hoou n-nēsteia et-tēš “Don’t listen to me when I say these things and then neglect the prescribed days of fasting.” (Shenute ed. Chassinat,⁹ 102,2–8)

m jr qpe mtw=k dj gm=w t=k “Don’t hide and (then) let yourself be found out.” (°*Ōnchsheshonqy*, 7,8)¹⁰

“Don’t listen to me when I say these things and *don’t* neglect the prescribed days of fasting” and “Don’t hide and *don’t* let yourself be found out” differ in meaning and would probably be rendered in Coptic and Demotic by two negated imperatives. The function of the absence of “don’t” before “drive” in “Don’t drink and drive” and in the English translation of the Demotic and Coptic examples cited above is clearly the same as that of the conjunctive in Egyptian and Coptic: to unify two or more verbal notions into one single verbal notion with two or more components. This single verbal notion can be treated as a singular, as appears from the example from *The New York Times* cited above, as well as from the following Coptic example featuring a conjunctive chain with two components.

ke-hōb n-ouōt p-et=n-šaāt mmo=f ete pai pe e-tre=n-r hote hēt=f n=tn-šipe de on hēt=ou n-ne=f-aggelos “One single other thing is it that we lack, to fear him and have shame before his angels.”

(Shenute ed. Chassinat [see n. 9], 160,11–25)¹¹

⁹ Émile CHASSINAT, *Le quatrième livre des entretiens et épîtres de Shenouti*, Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l’Institut français d’Archéologie orientale du Caire 23 (Cairo: Institut français d’Archéologie orientale, 1911).

¹⁰ For the text, see Stephen Ranulph Kingdon GLANVILLE, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the British Museum*, vol. 2.1 (London: The British Museum, 1955). This translation is by Janet H. JOHNSON, *The Demotic Verbal System*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 38 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), 281–98, at 286.

¹¹ Compare the singular in this example with the plural in the

5 It can be concluded that the English equivalent of the conjunctive is the *significant absence of a certain element*. Obviously, the element that is absent does not need to be "don't" as in the examples in § 4. It can also be the actor, as in "He drank and drove," or the actor and the auxiliary verb, as in "Whoever will drink and drive," and so on. In this respect, Horner's remark quoted above in note 5 is illuminating. Horner, who translated the entire Bohairic, and later also the Sahidic, New Testament into English, observed that, when a Coptic tense followed by a conjunctive is rendered into English, the conjunctive is translated "usually without repetition of the sign of that tense." Clearly, extensive translation practice taught Horner that the Coptic conjunctive corresponds to *the significant absence of some element in English*.

The English grammatical phenomenon deserves a study in its own right. But this would exceed the limits of the present paper. Such a study would probably make the translation of the conjunctive into a more conscious act.

6 According to the hypothesis formulated above, the *functional workload* within the conjunctive chain is divided as follows between the initial form and the conjunctive(s).

- *The initial form determines tense or mood of all component actions together as one unit.*
- *It is the task of the conjunctive(s) to hold these components together in that unit, that is, to con-join them.*¹²

following example in which the actions are not connected by the conjunctive: *n-etešše de ne e-fi roouš ha p-dikaion e-r p-hap m-p-et-hēš e-ti n-opsōnion n-m-matoi auō on p-ke-seepe n-hōb et-jī ehoun e-n-arxē e-tre=u-aa=u* "The things that are appropriate are to care for justice, to do justice to whoever is in distress, to give wages to the soldiers, and (to do) the rest of the things which pertain to the task of the authorities (literally, 'which pertain to the authorities, so that they might do them')" (Émile AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres de Schenoudi*, 2 vols. [Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1907–14], vol. 1, 400, 11–13).

¹² In fact, the name "conjunctive," from Latin *conjungere*, suits the

7 The effect of using the conjunctive will tend to be less marked if the component actions are thought of as typically belonging to a single compound action. For instance, the difference in meaning between "Don't eat and drink" and "Don't eat and don't drink" is less striking than the difference between "Don't drink and drive" and "Don't drink and don't drive." The reason seems to be that eating and drinking typically occur together whereas drinking and driving do not. The following rule can therefore be formulated: To the degree that verbal notions are implicitly thought of as components of a single compound action, making that compound character explicit by using the conjunctive will be less effective. According to this rule, the function of the conjunctive is the same in all its occurrences within the conjunctive chain, those in which its effect is obvious and those in which it is not.

This rule may explain why it is difficult to perceive in many, perhaps most, instances of the conjunctive why an Egyptian or Coptic author or translator chose to use the conjunctive to follow a given verb form rather than to repeat the conjugation base of that verb form. In all these many examples, the function of the conjunctive is obscured because it merely gives explicit grammatical expression to something that is already implied anyhow. This hypothesis is further elaborated below in chapter 7 (§§ 37–43).

8 In view of the large corpus of texts written in Late Egyptian, Demotic, and Coptic, and the frequent occurrence of the conjunctive in them, an exhaustive study of all examples of the conjunctive is impossible. Instead, the following discussion will concentrate on a number of hitherto unnoticed properties of the conjunctive chain for which the hypothesis set forth above can offer an explanation. These properties pertain to

Egyptian verb form better than the forms it designates in Indo-European languages. "Con-joiner" and "con-join," literal translations of the Latin, were suggested to me by Bentley LAYTON.

1. the conjunctive following second tenses (chapter 3 §§ 10–16).
2. the conjunctive following the negative imperative of Egyptian *gmj* "find" and Coptic *nau* "see" (chapter 4 §§ 17–21).
3. the use of Coptic *nci* with the conjunctive (chapter 5 §§ 22–23).
4. negations in the conjunctive chain (chapter 6 §§ 24–36).

9 In Coptic, the conjunctive often follows expressions other than verb forms, for instance conjunctions. As these uses of the conjunctive are not found in Late Egyptian, they seem to be expansions of the conjunctive's original function. In other words, as the language developed, the conjunctive became a member of paradigms which seem no longer compatible with the etymological meaning of the conjugation base, which can be traced back to the Middle Egyptian preposition *hn^c* "with" (see chapter 11 §§ 66–71). These uses have been excluded from the present study. It is perhaps no coincidence that they make their appearance in the language with the advent of Greek influence on Egyptian. In fact, many of the additional syntagms that can be followed by the conjunctive are borrowed from Greek. Another usage of the conjunctive that will not be discussed here is that as object of certain verbs. Following Steindorff, it is regarded as a secondary development.¹³ Finally, it happens that the conjunctive appears in initial position, most notably in Late Egyptian oath formulas; it is assumed here that ellipsis of some element that originally preceded the conjunctive has occurred.

¹³ STEINDORFF interprets the Coptic sentence *e=u-ouōš n=se-ei ehoun* as "sie wollen und sie kommen herein," d.h. 'sie wollen dass sie hereinkommen'. . . . Hier hat sich also aus der koordinierenden Bedeutung des Konjunktivs die subordinierende entwickelt" (*Koptische Grammatik* [Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1904²], 119 § 259).

THE CONJUNCTIVE FOLLOWING SECOND TENSES

10 If the conjunctive were truly a chameleon (§ 1), any conjunctive following a second tense would “become like” a second tense and emphasize an adverbial expression of its own. But in fact, as a rule, *only one adverbial expression is emphasized in conjunctive chains headed by a second tense*. Since, in such instances, the conjunctive does not copy an essential property of the preceding conjugation base, it should be doubted that it ever can.

In the following Late Egyptian example from the Tomb Robbery Papyri, an “emphatic” verb form is followed by six conjunctives, most of them not accompanied by an adverbial phrase.

“We brought out . . . the vessel . . . which we found. . . ,”



jw j.jr=n wn n3 dbt m n3 h3jw n bj3 . . .
mtw=n jn n3 wt nty wn nbw jm=w

mtw=n wšš=w

mtw=n djt ht jm=w m grḥ m-ḥnw n3 m^ch^ct

mtw=n nw p3 nbw p3 ḥd . . .

mtw=n jt3jj=f

mtw=n pš=f n=n

"it being by means of the chisels of copper (which we held in our hands) that we opened the tombs, brought out the coffins in which there was gold, split them up, set fire to them by night in the tombs, collected the gold and silver. . . , took it, and divided it among us."

(*British Museum 10,054r*, 2,10-12)¹⁴

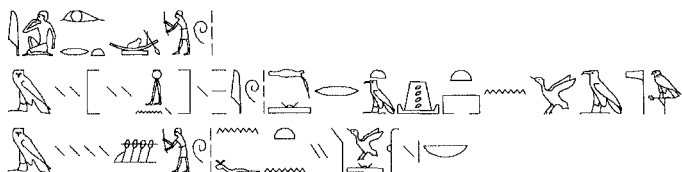
The conjunctives are con-joined with *j.jr=n wn*, an "emphatic" verb form, which is subordinated in a circumstantial clause by *jw*. The purpose of this circumstantial clause is to emphasize that it was by means of the chisels of copper that the entire compound action of opening-bringing-splitting-setting fire-collecting-dividing was made possible. Though the chisels made all these actions possible, they are, strictly speaking, probably only used for opening the tomb and perhaps also for bringing out the coffins and splitting them. In the English translation suggested above, the absence of "we" before each verb form except the first achieves roughly the same effect as the conjunctive. In confirmation of what has been stated earlier, only one adverbial phrase is emphasized in the entire chain, namely *m n3 ḥ3jw n bj3* "by means of the chisels of copper."

One more feature of the above translation deserves attention. The conjunctives have been rendered by the simple past ("brought . . . split . . . set . . . collected . . . took . . . divided"). It should not be inferred from this that the conjunc-

¹⁴ Thomas Eric PEET, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*, 3 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1930), Plate VI, 2,10-12. This example is cited by Alan H. GARDINER, "The Harem of Miwêr," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 12 (1953): 145-49, at 149 n. i, and by WENTE "The Late Egyptian Conjunctive as a Past Continuative" [see n. 7], 306.

tive can express past tense or can be used in a narrative chain. Rather, the clause to which the conjunctives belong is in the present tense, and the use of the conjunctive is therefore altogether appropriate. But in accordance with the principle of relative tense discussed earlier (see pages xii–xiii of the Preface and REMARK [2] of § 2), the clause is present with reference to the sentence to which it is subordinated, which is itself in the past. In English, however, a relative present almost always needs to be translated with a past tense.

Another example in which the conjunctive follows an “emphatic” form is the following.



j.jr.t(w) hn=w mtw[.tw jn=]w jw=w mh r t3 šnwt n p3 ntr mtw.tw šsp n=f tny rnpt nb “It is in full¹⁵ that they are transported, brought to the granary of the god, and received for him each and every year” (*pTurin 1887v*, 2,1–11¹⁶). Perhaps, instead of *jw=w mh* “being full,” another adverbial phrase, *r t3 šnwt n p3 ntr* “to the granary of the god,” or even *tny rnpt nb* “each and every year” is emphasized.

11 A passage from the Story of Wenamun that has traditionally been interpreted as an “emphatic” form conjoined with a conjunctive is actually not one.

¹⁵ Literally, “being full.”

¹⁶ Alan H. GARDINER, *Ramesside Administrative Documents* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), 79,2–3.



nn jr=k dd, "smn tw m p3 grh"

r djt wd t3 br j.gm=j

mtw=k jjj dd "hn=k n=k" 'n

"Do you not say, 'Stay one more night,' so that the ship I found might first depart and you might then return saying, 'Go away?'" (*Wenamun*, 1,44–45 = *Late-Egyptian Stories* [see n. 8], 65,13–14)

The prince of Byblos has been nagging Wenamun to leave town. But when Wenamun finally finds a ship and is preparing for departure, the prince changes his mind after a miracle has occurred and wishes Wenamun to stay. He sends his harbor-master to ask Wenamun not to depart. Wenamun, whose ship is leaving that very evening, suspects that the prince only wants him to stay that night so that he might harass Wenamun again after the ship has left. In his statement quoted above, then, Wenamun can hardly assume that the purpose of the harbormaster's request is to cause the ship to leave (*r djt wd t3 br*). The ship will leave regardless. Rather, the purpose of the request must be, as Wenamun sees it, the compound action of letting the ship first leave and then returning to resume annoying Wenamun to go away when he no longer can (*r djt wd t3 br j.gm=j mtw=k jjj dd "hn=k n=k" 'n*). In conclusion, the conjunctive is not conjoined with the "emphatic" verb form *jr=k dd* but with the infinitive *djt*.

12 Depending on the function and the position of the phrase that is emphasized, different types of conjunctive chains can be distinguished.

- I. The emphasized adverbial phrase modifies one of the component actions.
- II. The emphasized adverbial phrase modifies all component actions together.¹⁷

The following examples are limited to instances of conjunctive chains with *two* component actions. Here, as in previous and subsequent sections, all the examples are in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic, unless indicated otherwise.

I.A. THE EMPHASIZED ADVERBIAL PHRASE MODIFIES THE FIRST COMPONENT ACTION

e=n-na-cn rōme tōn n-te=k-he n=f-ti sbō na=n “**Where** will we find a man like you, so that he might teach us?” (*British Museum* 10,820,¹⁸ f. 2r b 22–24). The conjunctive has been translated here by a consecutive clause (“so that”), but this is merely a translational device, since the more literal rendition “Where will we find a man like you and he will teach us?” is not idiomatic English. This specific problem of translation often occurs when verbs change actors within the conjunctive chain, as in the present example from “we” to “he.” Though it may be very opportune to render the conjunctive by a consecutive or final clause, this is never its function (cf. § 2 REMARK [2]).

p=a-merit n-eiōt e-ša=k-cn rōme tōn hn tei-erēma n=f-slsōl=k hn ne=k-hise “My beloved father, **where** in this desert do you find someone to comfort you in your sufferings?” (Budge,

¹⁷ The existence of the two types seems obvious, but assigning individual examples to either type may occasionally prove difficult and depend on the interpretation of the text. An analogous problem occurs when one tries to identify among a string of adverbial phrases following a second tense which one is emphasized.

¹⁸ A.F. SHORE, “Extracts of Besa’s *Life of Shenoute* in Sahidic,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 65 (1979): 134–43.

Martyrdoms,¹⁹ 132,27–28). The conjunctive $n=f-sls\bar{o}l=k$ is rendered freely by “to comfort,” that is, “so that he might comfort”; for this rendition, see the preceding example.

alla e-ša=u-ke=f hijñ t-lukhnia n=f-er ouaein e-n-et-hñ p-ēi tēr=f “But they put it **on the lampstand** so that it might shine for those in the entire house” (Matthew 5:15, Middle Egyptian dialect²⁰). “So that” is a free translation; for this translation, see the two preceding examples.

“Where is he going or” $e=f-na-b\bar{o}k$ ***e-aš m-ma*** $n=f-kaa=n nci p-ete n=f-tēp an e-p\bar{o}rj e-pe=f-ohe n-esouu n-ou-ounou n-ou\bar{o}t$ “**to which place** will he go and leave us, he who is not accustomed to be separated from his flock of sheep for a single hour?” (Shenute ed. Chassinat [see n. 9], 200,51–201,1). This example is also discussed in §§ 13 and 22. The conjunctive is rendered here by the absence of “will he” before “leave.”

mē e=f-na-b\bar{o}k ehrai e-t-diaspora n-n-hellēn n=f-ti sbō n-n-oueeienin “Will he go **to those dispersed among the Greeks** and teach the Greeks?” (John [see n. 45²¹] 7:35). Literally: “Is it to those dispersed among the Greeks that he will go and teach the Greeks?”

¹⁹ E.A. Wallis BUDGE, *Coptic Martyrdoms Etc. in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London: The British Museum, 1914).

²⁰ Hans-Martin SCHENKE, *Das Matthäus-Evangelium im mittelägyp-tischen Dialekt des Koptischen (Codex Scheide)*, Texte und Untersuchungen 127 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1981).

²¹ For John, see also Hans QUECKE, *Das Johannesevangelium saïdisch*, Papyrologica Castroctaviana, Studia et Textus 11 (Rome and Barcelona: Papyrologica Castroctaviana, 1984).

I.B. THE EMPHASIZED ADVERBIAL PHRASE MODIFIES THE SECOND COMPONENT ACTION

e=k-na-bōk n=g-kaa=n e=n-o n-orphanos "Will you go and leave us **orphaned?**" (*BM 10,820* [see n. 18], f. 2v a 5-7). Literally: "Is it orphaned that you will go and leave us?"

mallon e-ne=tn-bal na-ouen n=tetn-šōpe n-t-he n-ni-noute e=tetn-sooun m-p-p-et-hoou mn p-et-nanou=f "Rather, your eyes will open and you will become **like those gods**, knowing evil and good" (*The Hypostasis of the Archons*,²² Nag Hammadi Codex II 90,8-10). Literally: "Rather, it is like those gods that your eyes will open and you will become, knowing good and evil." Or perhaps, *e=tetn-sooun* is stressed.

In the following example, a variant of Type I, with three component actions instead of two, the emphasized adverbial phrase perhaps modifies the third component action of three.

mē n-e-ša=f-kō en m-pi-šu n-esau šattn oue hijn n-toueiē n=f-še ne=f n=f-kote nsa p-er-sorm "Does he not leave those ninety-nine sheep in the mountains and go and search **for the stray?**" (Matthew 18:12, Middle Egyptian dialect [see n. 20]). Emphasis on *hijn n-toueiē* "in the mountains" is grammatically possible but less likely.

²² Bentley LAYTON, "The Hypostasis of the Archons," *Harvard Theological Review*, 67 (1974): 351-425 and 69 (1976): 31-101. The text is also edited by LAYTON in *Nag Hammadi Codex II*, 2-7, ed. LAYTON, Nag Hammadi Studies 20 and 21, 2 vols. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), vol. 1, 234-59.

II.A. THE EMPHASIZED ADVERBIAL PHRASE MODIFIES BOTH VERBS TOGETHER AND FOLLOWS THE FIRST VERB FORM

(Demotic) *t3y(=j) ḥryt j.jr.t sm r-ḥr=j n w^c q^cḥ n ḥ3.t=t mtw=t jr 3why r-ḥr=j* “My Lady, it is **with a touch of your heart** that you will bless and protect me.” (*Mythus*,²³ 11,20–21)

eie ere p-joeis pe-x(risto)s i(ēsou)s na-smou ero=ou n-ouēr auō n=f-ti eoou na=u “then **how much more** will the Lord Jesus Christ praise them and give glory to them?”

(Shenute ed. Chassinat [see n. 9], 85,26–31)

ē nim p-et-na-prosekhe an je e=f-ouōm n-aš n-he nte-tm ne-hbēue er houo hrai n-hēt=f para ou-khersos “Or, who will not be careful **how** to eat without the things becoming more plenty inside of him than in a desert place?” (Shenute ed. Leipoldt IV,²⁴ 156,19–21). Literally: “How will he-eat-and-the-things-not-become-more-plenty. . . .” The conjunctive is con-joined with the second tense *e=f-ouōm*.²⁵

II.B. THE EMPHASIZED ADVERBIAL PHRASE MODIFIES BOTH VERBS TOGETHER AND FOLLOWS THE SECOND VERB FORM

(Demotic) *j.jr ḥr [. . .] st mtw=w jr km ʿ3bt n p3y=w ḥ^c ḥr pr-j3btj* “It is **at their rising in the east** that [someone does something to] them and that a feast and offerings are made”

²³ Françoise DE CENIVAL, *Le Mythe de l'Œil du Soleil*, Demotische Studien 9 (Sommerhausen: Gisela Zauzich Verlag, 1988).

²⁴ Iohannes LEIPOLDT, *Sinuthii Archimandritae Vita et Opera Omnia IV*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 73, scriptores coptici 5, series secunda, tomus 5 (Paris: E Typographeo Reipublicae, 1913).

²⁵ SHISHA-HALEVY suggests connecting the conjunctive with *nim p-et-na-prosekhe an* (*Coptic Grammatical Categories* [see n. 2], 200 § 7.2.3.5[2] [b]).

(*pCarlsberg I*,²⁶ 6,6). This Demotic example has achieved some notoriety since it has been interpreted as an instance in which a conjunctive, *mtw=w jr km*, is emphasized by a second tense, in this case the second aorist *j.jr hr* [. . .].²⁷ The sentence quoted above is the second half of a Demotic gloss explaining the following statement written in Hieratic: "It is in the east that they celebrate the first feast." Since the phrase "in the east" is obscure, the first half of the Demotic commentary specifies that it is *n p3j=w h^c hr pr-j3bty* "at their rising in the east (that is, the rising of the decanal stars)" that the feast is celebrated. The second half of the gloss, then, which is quoted above, repeats the same thought but adds details, partly lost because the infinitive of the first verb form, *j.jr hr* [. . .], is in *lacuna*. It seems obvious, however, that the phrase *n p3y=w h^c hr pr-j3bty* is emphasized again. Whereas, in the first half, the emphasized adverbial phrase modifies a single action, in the second half the same phrase modifies two actions conjoined by the conjunctive. This interpretation is preferable to assuming a lone instance of an emphasized conjunctive in Demotic.²⁸

²⁶ Hans Ostenfeldt LANGE and Otto NEUGEBAUER, *Papyrus Carlsberg No. 1: Ein hieratisch-demotischer kosmologischer Text*, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab: Historisk-filologiske Skrifter I 2 (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1940).

²⁷ Otto NEUGEBAUER and Richard A. PARKER, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts: I. The Early Decans* (Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University Press, 1960), 74. The text is quoted by WENTE, "The Late Egyptian Conjunctive as a Past Continuative" [see n. 7], 305 n. 18.

²⁸ The possibility of a conjunctive being emphasized by a substantival verb form would run counter to the interpretation of the conjunctive's function proposed here. SHISHA-HALEVY does not know of "any unequivocal instance of the conjunctive focalized by the Second Tense" (*Coptic Grammatical Categories* [see n. 2], 191 § 7.1.3.1). WENTE also strongly doubts the existence of such a construction ("The Late Egyptian Conjunctive as a Past Continuative" [see n. 7], 305 n. 18). GROLL states that the pattern *j.jr=f sdm mtw=f sdm* does not occur in non-literary Late Egyptian texts (Sarah Israelit GROLL, *The Negative Verbal System of Late Egyptian* [London and New York: Published for the Griffith Institute by Oxford University Press, 1970], 173).

Joris F. BORGHOUTS cites *pLeiden I* 361,4–5 as a possible Late Egyptian example of an emphasized conjunctive, adding that it "stands alone"

p-sōma et-šouōou nte p-monakhos e=f-sōk n-te-psukhē ehrai hn n-šik nte p-esēt auō n=f-tre n-hudonē šooue hitn t-nēstia "It is **through fasting** that the desiccated body of the monk pulls the soul from the holes dug in the ground and makes pleasures dry up" (Chaîne, *Apophthegmata Patrum*,²⁹ 3).

As appears from the examples listed in this section, emphasized adverbial phrases *at least* modify the verb form they accompany. In other words, they modify either that verb form alone or that verb form together with other verb forms.

("A Special Use of the Emphatic sdm.f in Late Egyptian," *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 29 [1972]: 271–76, at 271 n. 12). But also this example is easily interpreted otherwise, even though its literal translation is not idiomatic English. In fact, the formulation is so idiosyncratically Egyptian that it is necessary to depart substantially from the original to achieve a satisfactory translation. Text and translation are as follows: *j,jr=j* (for *j,jr=f*) *nd hrt=k mtw=k h3b n=j hr '=k snb=k*; (literal translation) "It is about your condition and your health that I-am-inquiring-and-you-(should)-write-to-me"; (free translation) "It is your condition and your health that I am inquiring about, so that you would write to me *about them*" (parts in italics are not in the original).

G. Michael BROWNE cites two Coptic examples of emphasized conjunctive (*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 36 [1979]: 181–83, at 182a). In the first example (see Tito ORLANDI's *Il Dossier Copto del Martire Psote*, Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità 61 [Milan: Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1978], 38,7–8), there is no adverbial phrase; but then, the second future preceding the conjunctive might be of the "jussive precativ" kind, which does not emphasize an adverbial complement (cf. SHISHA-HALEVY, *Coptic Grammatical Categories* [see n. 2], 77 § 2.1.3), or it might be "autofocal," stressing the first or the second infinitive. In the second example, *Il Dossier Copto del Martire Psote*, 38,23–25, the forms interpreted as second tenses are perhaps circumstantial verb forms. Yet a third example, *mē e=k-šipe n=g-homologeī* (E.A.E. REYMOND and J.W.B. BARNS, *Four Martyrdoms from the Pierpont Morgan Coptic Codices* [Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1973], at 26), is reported by BROWNE in *Chronique d'Égypte*, 53 (1978): 199–202, at 201–2; but here *e=k-šipe* might be an "autofocal" second tense emphasizing *šipe*: "Are you ashamed and (therefore) confess?" The literal translation is "Is it ashamed that you are and confess?"

²⁹ Marius CHAÎNE, *Le manuscrit de la version copte en dialecte sahidique des «Apophthegmata Patrum»*, Bibliothèque d'Études Coptes 6 (Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1960). See also G. Michael BROWNE, *Chronique d'Égypte*, 53 (1978): 199–202, at 202.

13 It was observed in § 12 that only a single adverbial expression is emphasized in conjunctive chains headed by a second tense. Conversely, when each verb of a chain of verb forms has an emphasized adverbial phrase of its own, the conjunctive *cannot* be used, since the form is unable to copy its function from a preceding second tense. As many second tenses as emphasized adverbial phrases are needed.

In fact, even when a chain of verb forms in which each form has an emphasized adverbial phrase of its own *expresses a compound action*, the conjunctive cannot be used. In the following example, the unusual position of the actor marker *nci* after the second of a series of two verb forms which have the same actor indicates that the two verbs form a compound action (cf. §§ 22 and 23 below). Nonetheless, the conjunctive is not employed because each component action has an emphasized adverbial phrase of its own.

eie e=u-na-r ou ē e=u-na-bōk e-tōn nci n-et-ēp tēr=ou ero=s “then what will they do or where will they go, all those who belong to it (the wrath)?”

(Shenute ed. Chassinat [see n. 9], 180,37–41)

The same point is also illustrated by the following example, in which the position of *nci* after the third component action in a conjunctive chain consisting of three component actions with the same actor indicates that the actions are con-joined. Two of the three component actions, the first two, are accompanied by an emphasized adverbial phrase.

e=f-na e-tōn ē e=f-na-bōk e-aš m-ma n=f-kaa=n nci p-ete n=f-tēp an e-pōrj e-pe=f-ohe n-esou n-ou-ounou n-ouōt “Where is he going or to which place will he go and leaves us, he who is not accustomed to be separated from his flock of sheep for one single hour?” (Shenute ed. Chassinat [see n. 9], 200,50–201,1). This example is also cited in §§ 12 I.A and 22.

The conjunctive could not have been used instead of the second tense *e=f-na-bōk* in the second component action, since this form has an emphasized adverbial phrase of its own (*e-aš m-ma* "to which place?"). Or, **e=u-na-r ou ē n=se-bōk e-tōn* is impossible since two emphasized adverbial phrases require two second tenses. Consequently, only *n=f-kaa=n*, which does not have an emphasized adverbial element, is in the conjunctive.

But the following example seems to contradict the rule just stated. Each of the two component actions in the conjunctive chain contains an interrogative pronoun.

e=i-na-je ou t=a-ka ou "What will I say, what leave out?" (Pierpont Morgan M595, f. 64v a 10–11, ed. Zlatko Pleše in *Homiletica from the Pierpont Morgan Library* [see n. 63 below], vol. 1, 72,20). The conjunctive is rendered here by not repeating "will I."

As interrogative pronouns are often emphasized, it is tempting to assume that the first interrogative pronoun is stressed by the second tense, the second by the conjunctive, in contradiction with the rule that conjunctives cannot stress adverbial elements. The following example is similar. It is not translated because the interpretation is uncertain.

e=n-na-hi toeis e-tōn nte=n-ka tōn ete pai pe je e=n-(n)a-jpie nim nte=n-ka nim (Charour, *Prophecy concerning the Coenobium at Pboou*, ed. Lefort,³⁰ vol. 1, 101,19–21)

³⁰ Louis Théophile LEFORT, *Œuvres de S. Pachôme et de ses disciples*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 159 and 60, scriptores coptici 23 and 24, 2 vols. (Leuven: Imprimerie Orientaliste L. Durbecq, 1956). The text is that of LEFORT's "A" (Pierpont Morgan M586). Lefort's "B," now at the Coptic Museum, has a different reading. For this sentence, see also Walter Ewing CRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1939), 95b, "Mor 51 36." The Coptic of Charour's *Prophecy* is very unusual (cf. CRUM *apud* LEFORT, *Œuvres de Pachôme*, vol. 1, xxxi; see also vol. 2, 100 note).

A possible explanation for these examples is that the Second Tense at the head of the conjunctive chain emphasizes only the first occurrence of the interrogative word and that the emphasis on the second interrogative word is not explicitly marked. That this is possible appears from examples such as the following, in which, just as in the examples with the conjunctive cited above, an interrogative word occurs twice. However, only one interrogative word is explicitly emphasized.³¹

nim p-et-jō mmo=s n-nim "Who is saying it to whom?"
(Lefort, "Catéchèse,"³² 42 [f. 83r])

nta nim tsabo=f e-nim "Who has taught him about whom?" (Vienna National Library, K9228r,³³ α 9–10)

14 The conjunctive is not used in narrative sequences (see also § 2 REMARK [2] and the first example in § 10). Among its narrative counterparts are the following forms.

Coptic	the asyndetic perfect ³⁴
Late Egyptian	<i>jw=f hr (tm) sdm</i> ³⁵

³¹ These examples are cited, together with similar examples, by SHISHA-HALEVY, *Coptic Grammatical Categories* [see n. 2], 94 § 2.7.1.3.1.

³² Louis Théophile LEFORT, "Catéchèse Christologique de Chenoute," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 80 (1955): 40–45.

³³ Carl WESSELY, *Griechische und koptische Texte theologischen Inhalts I* (Leipzig, 1909; reprint Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1966), 110 No. 36a.

³⁴ Bentley LAYTON, *The Gnostic Treatise on Resurrection from Nag Hammadi*, Harvard Dissertations in Religion 12 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), 184–86.

³⁵ GROLL, *The Negative Verbal System of Late Egyptian* [see n. 28], 174. "The so-called Conjunctive *mtw.f sdm* is the non-narrative counterpart of *iw.f hr sdm*" (Hans Jacob POLOTSKY, "A Note on the Sequential Verb-form in Ramesside Egyptian and in Biblical Hebrew," in *Pharaonic Egypt, the Bible, and Christianity*, ed. Sarah Israelit GROLL [Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1985], 157–61, at 158).

Asyndetic perfect chains consist of perfects coordinated without *auō* "and." The distinctive mark of the asyndetic perfect is the absence of *auō*. Like conjunctive chains, asyndetic perfect chains unify actions into compound actions. The functional equivalence of conjunctive chains and asyndetic perfect chains is demonstrated by the following examples, in which events are first reported in direct speech in the conjunctive and repeated in narrative with asyndetic perfects.

"He said to them," *amēitn n=tetn-nau a=u-ei ce a=u-nau* "Come and see.' Then they came and saw."

(John [see nn. 21 and 45] 1:39)

a-u-horama cōlp na=f ebol je tōoun n=g-mooše . . . ntōf de p-makarios apa pambō a=f-tōoun a=f-mooše . . .
 "A vision appeared to him saying, 'Rise and walk. . .'
 Then the blessed Apa Pambo rose and walked. . ."

(Budge, *Martyrdoms* [see n. 19], 128,15–16.20)

a=f-ouehsahne nci p=a-eiōt e-tre tagma nim et-hn m-pēue ei n=se-ouōšt na=f . . . a-te-stratia tēr=s n-t-pe ei a=u-ouōšt m-p-noute "My Father commanded that every order in the heavens should come and worship him. . . . The whole army of heaven came and worshipped God."

(Budge, *Martyrdoms* [see n. 19], 234,29–32)

tōn tenou te=n-šlāl hi ou-sap . . . a=u-tōn=ou a=u-šlāl hi ou-sap "Rise and let us pray together' . . . They rose and prayed together." (*The Investiture of St. Michael Archangel*,³⁶ vol. 1, 33,33–34,2)

³⁶ C. Detlef G. MÜLLER, *Die Bücher der Einsetzung der Erzengel Michael und Gabriel*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 225 and 226, scriptores coptici 31 and 32, 2 vols. (Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1962).

REMARKS

1. The fine line between the narrative and discussive modes of speaking³⁷ is illustrated in the following example in which the asyndetic perfect chain is used to express what *did* happen, and the negative perfect plus conjunctive refers to the hypothetical counterpart, that which *has not*.

epeidē a=tetn-ei ebol hn t-ekklēsia a=tetn-jō n-hen-šaje n-katalalia e-mn hēu n-hēt=ou mpe=tn-cō n-houn e-t-ekklēsia n=tetn-smou e-p-noute mn ne=f-aggelos “For you left the church and said words of slander in which there is no profit. You have not stayed in the church and praised God and his angels.” (Pierpont Morgan M588, f. 29v b 19–25, ed. Frederick Weidmann in *Homiletica from the Pierpont Morgan Library* [see n. 63 below], vol. 1, 6,27–29)

2. The instances in which the affirmative perfect *a=f-sōtm* is followed by a conjunctive are rare. Two examples are as follows.³⁸

ešje a-p-ete ounta=f-sou cmcom e-taa=u na=k n=g-tm-cmcom de ntok e-nou=k an ne e-taa=u ha p-sōte n-te-psukhē m-p-ete nou=f ne “If someone who has possessions has found it within himself to give things to you but you cannot find it within yourself to give them up, although they are not yours, for the salvation of the person whose things they are. . . .” (Shenute ed. Chassinat [see n. 9], 195,8–17).³⁹ *n=g-tm-cmcom* is conjoined with *a-p-ete ounta=f-sou cmcom*.

a=f-ji saune a-n-ete nou=tn ne n=tetn-mtan mmō=tn ajō=ou “He has taken cognizance of the things that are yours and

³⁷ I am referring here to the distinction between *erzählte Welt* and *besprochene Welt* proposed by Harald WEINRICH in *Tempus: Besprochene und erzählte Welt* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1971²).

³⁸ See also Georg STEINDORFF, *Lehrbuch der koptischen Grammatik* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951), 173.

³⁹ This translation is by David BRAKKE, “Shenute: On Cleaving to Profitable Things,” *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, 20 (1989): 115–41, at 136.

you have found rest in them." (*The Gospel of Truth*,⁴⁰ Nag Hammadi Codex I 33,35–37, Lycopolitan dialect)

What is the difference between a perfect followed by an asyndetic perfect and a perfect followed by a conjunctive? It is plausible that the chain perfect plus perfect expresses the narrative past ("he did"), whereas the chain perfect plus conjunctive refers to the present perfect ("he has done"). Some stages of Egyptian distinguish between the narrative past and the present perfect, whereas Coptic only has the perfect *a=f-sōtm* to refer to both. In the case of con-joined chains, however, the verb form following the initial perfect, either a perfect or a conjunctive, perhaps makes it possible to establish whether the chain is narrative or not.

3. The number of words intervening between two perfects in an asyndetic chain can be fairly large, as the following instance illustrates. The con-joined perfects are indicated in bold.

*n-t-he e=tetn-sooun tēr=tn je a-ouēr n-episkopos r ouēr
n-hoou mn ouēr n-oušē m-pi-ma mn ou-mēēše n-klērikos hi
arxōn hi matoi mn ni-ke-laos nmma=u hm p-ouehsahne
m-p-arxiepiskopos mn ne=f-shai etr=a-bōk šaro=f etbe pi-tōš
je r episkopos mp=i-bōk* "Just as you all know that so many
bishops spent so many days and so many nights in that place
together with a multitude of clerics and rulers and soldiers
and other people along with them in accordance with the
order of the archbishop and his letters (telling) me to go to
him regarding that destiny, namely 'becoming a bishop,' and
I did not go" (Shenute ed. Chassinat [see n. 9], 128,14–129,2).
The asyndetic perfect chain is *a-ouēr n-episkopos r ouēr
n-hoou mn ouēr n-ouše m-pi-ma . . . mp=i-bōk* "So many
bishops spent so many days and nights here . . . and I did not
go." If *mp=i-bōk* were an equivalent of *e-mp=i-bōk*, the
circumstantial would have to be anterior and rendered as
"while I had not gone."

⁴⁰ Edited by Harold W. ATTRIDGE and George W. MACRAE in *Nag Hammadi Studies Codex I (the Jung Codex)*, ed. Harold W. ATTRIDGE, Nag Hammadi Studies 22 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985), 55–122.

4. The con-joined character of the asyndetic perfect construction receives additional marking in the following remarkable example, in which an element common to two component actions, the copula *ne*, is only mentioned once, namely in the second component.

etbe ou a=k-joo=s je n-ete nou=f [*ne* is absent here] *mp=k-joo=s je nou=n nmma=f* ***ne*** "Why did you say, 'They (are) theirs,' and not, 'They are ours and his'."

(Shenute ed. Chassinat [see n. 9], 63,1-7)

Scribal error is improbable since the "Chassinat codex" is on the whole quite accurate. The fact that *a=k-joo=s je n-ete nou=f* is not complete without *mp=k-joo=s je nou=n nmma=f ne*, in other words, that the former cannot do without the latter, shows that they are con-joined. Conjunction has been rendered here by translating *mp=k-joo=s* as "and not" rather than as "and did you not say."

15 It was mentioned above (§ 10) that only one adverbial phrase is emphasized in a conjunctive chain headed by a second tense. Since the asyndetic perfect is the narrative counterpart of the conjunctive, a chain of asyndetic perfects headed by a second perfect must be subject to the same rule. This is illustrated in the following examples. Emphasized elements are indicated in bold.

nta=u-ouōm a=u-si ebol n-hēt=ou ***hijn ou-khortos*** "It is **(while sitting) on grass** that they ate and were satisfied by them."

(Shenute ed. Chassinat [see n. 9], 158,3-6)⁴¹

"No single angel stayed in heaven or on earth," *eimētei nta=u-ei tēr=ou a=u-aspaze m-Mikhaēl ere* ***ne=u-stinoufe hn ne=u-cij*** "but they all came and embraced Michael **while their perfumes were in their hands**"

⁴¹ The adverbial phrase *hijn ou-khortos* "on grass" probably modifies both *ouōm* "eat" and *si* "be satisfied" (compare the examples in § 12 II.B).

(*The Investiture of St. Michael Archangel* [see n. 36], vol. 1, 18,20–21). But the conjunctive is used in a similar statement outside the narrative chain: *mnnsō=s a-p=a-eiōt ouehsahne n-ne-aggelos e-tre=u-ei n=se-ouōšt m-Mikhaēl n=se-aspaze mmo=f* (*The Investiture of St. Michael Archangel*, vol. 1, 18,16–17).

a=f-eime n-te-unou de nta p-noute ouōnh na=s ebol a=f-tsabo=s e-hen-mustērion “He knew immediately that God had appeared to her and instructed her **about some mysteries**” (*The Legend of Eudoxia*,⁴² 56,8–9). Literally: “He knew immediately that it was about some mysteries that God had appeared to her and instructed her.”

The same phenomenon can be observed when an element is stressed by a cleft sentence (Polotsky’s “adjectival cleft sentence”⁴³) instead of a second tense (Polotsky’s “substantival Cleft Sentence”⁴⁴).

ešje ou-meros šēm mmate penta=n-r pe=f-meeue hn ne=f-aretē a-tei-euphrosunē n-tei-cot šōpe na=n eie e=n-šan-ōš m-pe=u-bios tēr=f e=n-na-šōpe n-aš n-he “If it is **only a small part** of his virtues that we have mentioned and such bliss has befallen us, then how will we become if we read his entire life?” (Pierpont Morgan M579, f. 110r a 26–33 [unpublished]). Though the emphasized phrase *ou-meros šēm mmate* modifies only the first action, *a=n-r pe=f-meeue*, both *a=n-r*

⁴² Tito ORLANDI, Birger A. PEARSON, and Harold A. DRAKE, *Eudoxia and the Holy Sepulchre: A Constantinian Legend in Coptic* (Milan: Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1980).

⁴³ H.J. POLOTSKY, *Grundlagen des koptischen Satzbaus: Erste Hälfte*, American Studies in Papyrology 27 (Decatur, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1987), 105–27.

⁴⁴ POLOTSKY, *Grundlagen* [see n. 43], 129–40.

pe=f-meeue and *a-tei-euphrosunē n-tei-cot šōpe* are subordinated in the cleft sentence, since they are con-joined, as the absence of *auō* before *a-tei-euphrosunē* indicates. The non-emphasized counterpart of the conditional clause would be **a=n-r p-meeue n-ou-meros šēm mmate hn ne=f-aretē a-tei-euphrosunē šōpe na=n* "We have mentioned only a small part of his virtues and such bliss has happened to us."

It was mentioned in § 13 that even when a chain of verb forms in which each verb has an emphasized adverbial phrase of its own expresses a single notion or compound action, the conjunctive cannot be used and two second tenses are used instead of a second tense followed by a conjunctive. The same applies to the asyndetic perfect, as the following example shows. The absence of *auō* indicates that the chain of perfects is asyndetic, but two second perfects are used because each has an emphasized adverbial phrase of its own.

mē nta pe-x(risto)s ei an ebol hm p-i(sra)ēl kata sarks nta t-ekklēsia ei ebol nhēt=f "Does Christ not come out of Israel according to the flesh, and the church out of him?" (Shenute ed. Chassinat [see n. 9], 146,52–57). The noteworthy single occurrence of the negation *an* is discussed in § 25 below. The translation "the church out of him" instead of "and does the church not come out of him" is meant to express the con-joined character of the two actions.

16 The conjunctive chain and its narrative counterpart, the asyndetic perfect chain, often occur in constructions that are highly idiomatically Egyptian or Coptic and defy literal translation. The following comparison between the Coptic version of Hebrews 6:15 and its adaptation in a monastic text may illustrate this. The New Testament verse contains an asyndetic perfect chain consisting of two perfects.

n-tei-he a=f-r harš-hēt a=f-mate m-p-erēt "Thus he was patient and obtained that which had been promised."
(Hebrews⁴⁵ 6:15)

Now, in an adaptation of this verse, emphasis is laid on the element *harš-hēt* "patient." In order to achieve this emphasis, the verb at the head of the chain is converted into a second tense.⁴⁶

nta n-et-ouaab r harš-hēt a=u-mate n-n-erēt "It is because of being patient that the saints obtained the things that had been promised." (*Catéchèse à propos d'un moine rancunier*, ed. Lefort, *Œuvres de S. Pachôme* [see n. 30], vol. 1, 2,3)

It is crucial to realize that *nta n-et-ouaab r harš-hēt a=u-mate n-n-erēt* does not consist of two independent sentences as the equivalent of "The saints were patient" (literally: "It is patient that the saints were") and "They obtained the things that had been promised." Rather, the asyndetic perfect chain denotes that the two actions form a single notion (see § 6), while the second tense applies to the chain as a whole, in which one, and only one (§ 10), element is emphasized. It is only a coincidence that the emphasized element (*harš-hēt*) belongs to the first

⁴⁵ [George W. HORNER,] *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect*. . . , 7 vols. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1911–24; reprint Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1969). The Greek original of Hebrews 6:15 exhibits one of two Greek models corresponding to the Coptic asyndetic perfect, an aorist participle subordinated to a finite aorist (LAYTON, *The Gnostic Treatise on Resurrection* [see n. 34], 184 bottom). In the version edited by Henry Francis Herbert THOMPSON in *The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles in the Sahidic Dialect* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1932) the circumstantial clause *e-a=f-r harš-hēt* mimics the subordinate participle of Greek.

⁴⁶ The second tense does not emphasize an adverbial phrase, but the verbal lexeme itself, an instance of a so-called autofocal second tense (SHISHA-HALEVY, *Coptic Grammatical Categories* [see n. 2], 76–80 § 2.1).

verb form. If it had been part of the second verb, the second tense would also have appeared at the head of the chain, for such is the manner in which conjunctive chains and chains of asyndetic perfects are emphasized, regardless of whether the emphasized element belongs to the first verb form in the chain or to any of the subsequent verb forms. The result is a Coptic idiom which cannot be translated literally. A literal translation would be something like "It is patient that the saints were and obtained the things that had been promised."

Note that the emphasis on *harš-hēt* in *nta n-et-ouaab r harš-hēt a=u-mate n-n-erēt* is confirmed by emphasis on *t-mnt-harš-hēt* in a parallel cleft sentence and a parallel emphatic nominal sentence.⁴⁷ Lefort's French translation adequately renders the threefold emphasis.

ne-hmot gar tēr=ou t-mnt-harš-hēt t-ete ša=s-colp=ou
na=k ebol

nta n-et-ouaab r harš-hēt a=u-mate n-n-erēt
p-šoušou n-n-et-ouaab pe t-mnt-harš-hēt

"Toutes les grâces, en effet, c'est **la patience** qui te les découvre; c'est pour avoir été **patients** que les saints obtinrent les choses promises [cf. Hebrews 6:15]; l'orgueil des saints, c'est **la patience**." (*Catéchèse à propos d'un moine rancunier*, ed. Lefort, *Œuvres de S. Pachôme* [see n. 30], vol. 1, 2, 2–4)

⁴⁷ See my "The Emphatic Nominal Sentence in Egyptian and Coptic," *Orientalia*, 56 (1987): 37–54.

**THE CONJUNCTIVE FOLLOWING
THE NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE OF
GMJ “FIND” AND NAU “SEE”**

17 The following Late Egyptian conjunctive chain is headed by the negative imperative *m jr gm* “Do not find.”



m jr gm ḥ3rt jw ḥ3m=k sw m šht mtw=k tm w3ḥ n=k r wšb=s “If you find a widow, whom you have met (?) in the field, don’t . . . to answer her” (*Wisdom of Amenemope*,⁴⁸ 26,9–10). Literally: “Don’t find-a-widow-and-then-not- . . .”

Lange suggested that *gmj* might be used here erroneously.⁴⁹ Indeed, it makes poor sense to order someone not to find something, since finding is accidental. Faced with the same

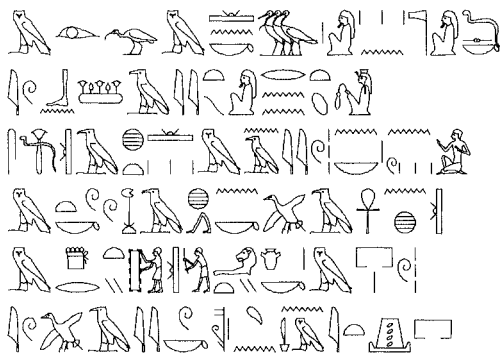
⁴⁸ Hans Ostenfeldt LANGE, *Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope aus dem Papyrus 10,474 des British Museum*, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser 11.2 (Copenhagen: Bianco Lunos Bogtrykkeri, 1925).

⁴⁹ The verb *gm* is “befremdend; vielleicht ein Fehler” (LANGE, *Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope* [see n. 48], 130).

problem, Griffith assumed that *gmj* might be “a legal term if it is not an error of the scribe.”⁵⁰

But *gmj* could be accounted for if one considers that it is followed by a conjunctive. The negative imperative *m jr gm* does therefore not apply to *gmj* alone, but to a compound action of which *gmj* is a component. *M jr gm* does not prohibit someone to find someone else, but rather to *first-find-someone-and-then-perform-such-and-such-an-action*; because of lexical problems, it is not entirely clear what the latter action is. In conclusion, though *gmj* cannot appear in the negative imperative, it can occur as part of a compound action.

18 Another instance of the negative imperative *m jr gm* is found elsewhere in the *Wisdom of Amenemope*.



m jr gm n=k b3w n ntr ds=k

jw bn Š3jt Rnnt swd3 3hwt m n3y=w nbw

mtw=k wh3 n=k p3 °nh

m dṛty qd h3ty=k m pr=w jw p3y=k qsn n nmjt

“When you find the power of the god yourself, without Shai and Renenet handing over properties to (*m* for *n*?)

⁵⁰ Francis Llewelyn GRIFFITH, “The Teaching of Amenophis the Son of Kanakht, Papyrus B.M. 10474,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 12 (1926): 191–231, at 223.

their owners, do not expect life, because your heart is built in their (Shai's and Renenet's?) house, when your bones are in the place of judgment."

(*Wisdom of Amenemope* [see n. 48], 21,15–21)

Here too, *m jr gm* is followed by a conjunctive in the second person and an interpretation along the same lines as that of 26,9–10 in § 17 seems possible. But again the contents are partly obscure. The compound action might be find-the-power-yourself-and-then-expect-to-live. In other words, do not expect to live when you interfere with Shai and Renenet.⁵¹

19 The negative imperative of Coptic *nau* "see," like that of Egyptian *gmj* "find," ought not to occur, as it is not possible to forbid someone to cancel temporarily the ability to receive light on the eye and transmit signals to the brain. Yet, *mpr-nau* "Don't see" is attested, and again, the conjunctive is present.

mpr-nau ero=ei hi t-kopria n=tetn-bōk n=tetn-kaa=t e=ei-něj ebol "If you see me on the dungheap, don't go and leave me cast aside" (*Thunder: Perfect Mind*,⁵² Nag Hammadi Codex VI 15,5–7). Literally: "Do not see-me-on-the-dungheap-and-go-away-and-leave-me-cast-aside." For the rendering "if. . .," see § 41 below.

mpr-nau ero=ei e=ei-něj ebol . . . n=tetn-sōbe nsō=ei "If you see me cast aside. . . , don't laugh at me." (*Thunder: Perfect Mind* [see n. 52], Nag Hammadi Codex VI 15,9–12)

⁵¹ The clause *jw bn Š3jīt Rnnt* is traditionally interpreted as a full clause, "while Shai and Renenet are not there."

⁵² Edited by George MACRAE in *Nag Hammadi Codices V,2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,1 and 4*, ed. Douglass M. PARROTT, Nag Hammadi Studies 11 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1979), 231–55.

mpr-nau e-hen-snēu e=u-štrtōr . . . n=se-skandalize
mmō=tn "If you see brothers in confusion, don't be led
 into sin." (Besa ed. Kuhn,⁵³ vol. 1, 3,20–22)

The first example is to be interpreted as "Don't perform the compound action of first seeing someone on the dungheap and then leaving that person," and the two other examples can be interpreted along the same lines. Though it is not possible to forbid someone to exercise the faculty of sight, one can be prohibited to see and do something else at the same time. In conclusion, the bond between the actions con-joined by the conjunctive, e.g. *nau* "see" and *kaa=t* "leave me," takes precedence over that between *mpr* and *nau*.

Analogous example from Late Egyptian, featuring *ptr* "see" in wishes, not commands, are as follows.



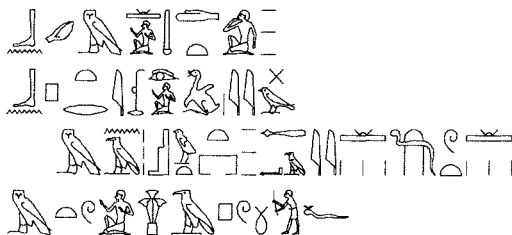
ptr=k sw mtw=k twr r 3hwt=f "May you see him and
 keep clear from his goods."

(*Wisdom of Amenemope* [see n. 48], 15,7)

This statement does not contain two independent wishes, "May you see him" and "May you keep clear of his goods," but the single wish that, when seeing him, you might keep clear of his goods. The conjunctive is rendered here by not repeating "and may you" before "keep clear." "If you see him, keep. . .," would also be appropriate (§ 41).

⁵³ Karl Heinz KUHN, *Letters and Sermons of Besa*, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 157 and 158, *scriptores coptici* 21 and 22, 2 vols. (Leuven: Imprimerie Orientaliste L. Durbecq, 1956).

In the following example, the prospective forms *bn sdm.j* and *bn ptr.j* seem to be conjoined without any explicit morphological indication. Did intonation in the spoken language play a role in such instances?



bn sdm=j mdt bn ptr=j t3jj m n3 swt 3jjw mdwt mtw=j
h3p=f "May I not hear anything or see anything wrong
 in the great profound places and hide it" (*The "Turin*
Strike Papyrus," recto 4,3–4 = *Ramesside Administra-*
tive Documents [see n. 16], 57,9–10).

20 In the passages quoted in § 19, *nau* has traditionally been translated as "look (at)." However, *nau* as a rule refers to the physical ability to receive visual impressions, that is "see," rather than to the intentional act of directing one's regard somewhere, that is, "look."⁵⁴ Indeed, as to the events de-

⁵⁴ But *nw*, the Late Egyptian predecessor of *nau* "see," meant "look," as its first position in the expression *ju.f hr nw ju.f hr ptr* "He looked and saw" indicates (compare the second position of *nau* in Coptic *afcōšt afnau* "He looked and saw"). See my "Voir' et 'regarder' en copte: étude synchronique et diachronique," *Revue d'Égyptologie*, 36 (1985): 35–42, and "Die 'Verben des Sehens': Semantische Grundzüge am Beispiel des Ägyptischen," *Orientalia*, 57 (1988): 1–13.

In these same papers, it was suggested that, in the transition from Late Egyptian *nw* "look" to Coptic *nau* "see," Demotic *nw* meant both "look" and "see." One would therefore occasionally expect to find Demotic *nw* in both first and second position in the sequence "look"—"see" exemplified for Late Egyptian and Coptic above. Indeed, an example that may now be added to

scribed in the examples cited in § 19, it is more reasonable to assume that the person to whom the imperatives are addressed *accidentally* encounters and *sees* someone else, instead of standing there *deliberately looking at* or watching that other person. In fact, when “looking” is meant, Coptic uses *cōšt* “look,” as in the following example, which also features a negative imperative followed by a conjunctive.

mpr-cōšt e-t-mine m-p-šaje n=tetn-noucs . . . alla ari p-meeue n-te-krisis m-p-noute “Don’t look at the way of words and be wroth. . . , but remember the judgment of God” (Shenute ed. Chassinat [see n. 9], 117,21–28). In other words, “Deliberately look in another direction and hence do not be angry.”

21 What has been said in § 19 about the negative imperative of *nau* “see” should also apply to the affirmative imperative. Since it is impossible to order someone to possess or acquire the property of seeing, the affirmative imperative of *nau* “see” ought not to occur by itself.

But *anau* “See!” is a case apart. It is better regarded as an isolated and fossilized form, more a particle than a verb. In fact, Coptic is not the only language to use the imperative of “see” as a synonym of “look.” Other languages have exact parallels to Coptic *anau*; examples are *ἰδε* in Greek, *vide* in Latin, “see” in English, and *siehe* in German, the latter three as used, for instance, in footnote references. Just like Coptic *nau*, the verbs *ὁρᾶν*, *vidēre*, “see,” and *sehen* are normally not used in the sense of “look at,” but their imperative seems to have this meaning. That the affirmative imperative of “see” is

those in the above-mentioned papers is *j.jr.k nw m-s3 p3 hbs hr nw=k r p3 nṯ* “If you look at the lamp, you will see the god” (Francis Llewelyn GRIFFITH and Henry Francis Herbert THOMPSON, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden* [Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1921], vol. 1, 44, at 5,7). The prepositions are the differentiating feature in Demotic.

often more a particle than a verb is demonstrated by Greek, in which *īde* can be followed by the nominative instead of the accusative. An example is *īde ō tōpos* in Mark 16:6.

It was suggested in § 19 that *nau* can appear in the negative imperative, after *mpr*, if it is conjoined with another action. Likewise, *nau* may appear in the affirmative imperative—unlike *anau* with the meaning “see”—in conjunction with another action, as in the following examples.

amou n=g-nau “Come and see.”
(John [see nn. 21 and 45] 1:46, 11:34)

hothet n-ne-graphē n=g-nau “Examine the scriptures and see.” (John [see nn. 21 and 45] 7:51)

The actions one is ordered to perform are to come-and-see and to examine—and-see. That *nau* means “see” in these conjunctive chains, and not “look,” is confirmed by the two following facts. First, the first verb can be, contrastively, *cōšt* “look” or an equivalent, as in the following examples.

cōšt . . . n=g-nau “Look and see.”
(Shenute ed. Chassinat [see n. 9], 185,48–50)

fi n-ne=tn-bal ehrai n=tetn-nau “Lift up your eyes and see.” (John [see nn. 21 and 45] 4:35)

Second, in examples such as the following (already cited in § 14), a thought is first expressed by a conjunctive chain in direct speech and then repeated in narrative by an asyndetic perfect construction, in which *nau* definitely means “see.”

amēitn n=tetn-nau a=u-ei ce a=u-nau “‘Come and see.’
Then they came and saw”
(John [see nn. 21 and 45] 1:39)

COPTIC *NCI* IN THE CONJUNCTIVE CHAIN

22 Coptic *nci* introduces nouns or noun phrases anticipated by the suffix pronoun of a verb form. A property of *nci* that has passed unnoticed concerns its behavior in conjunctive chains: When all the verb forms in a conjunctive chain have the same actor, *nci* can follow the last verb form.⁵⁵

*n-t-he de ete ša=u-šooue n=se-šōpe n-at-karpos nci
hen-šēn e=u-rēt hn ou-jaie e-mmn moou n-hēt=f* “Just as
trees growing in a desert in which there is no water
dry out and become infertile because there is no water
in it.” (Shenute ed. Leipoldt III,⁵⁶ 176,3–4)

*e=f-na e-tōn e e=f-na-bōk e-aš m-ma n=f-kaa=n nci p-ete
n=f-tēp an e-pōrj e-pe=f-ohe n-esou n-ou-ounou n-ouōt*
“Where is he going or to which place will he go and
leave us, he who is not accustomed to be separated
from his flock of sheep for a single hour?” (Shenute ed.
Chassinat [see n. 9], 200,50–201,1). For this example,

⁵⁵ But it does not always do so. An example in which *nci* follows the first verb form is *se-na-ei nci n-hethnos tēr=ou n=se-meh pi-ēi n-ooou* “All the nations will come and fill that house with glory” (Shenute ed. CHASSINAT [see n. 9], 141,39–42). The property of *nci* discussed here is not mentioned by Siegfried MORENZ, “Die *nci*-Konstruktion als sprachliche und stilistische Erscheinung des Koptischen,” *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte*, 52 (1952): 1–15, or by Girgis MATTHA, “The Origin of the Explanatory Particles *n* and *nci* : *nje*,” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’Archéologie orientale*, 45 (1947): 61–64.

⁵⁶ Iohannes LEIPOLDT, *Sinuthii Archimandritae Vita et Opera Omnia III*, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 42, *scriptores coptici* 2, series secunda, tomus 4 (Paris: E Typographeo Reipublicae, 1908).

see also § 12 I.A and § 13. For a parallel in a narrative context featuring the asyndetic perfect, see § 23.

The position of *nci* in these examples suggests close semantic ties between the two verbal notions. In the second example, for instance, the clause *e=f-na-bōk e-aš m-ma* is only rendered complete by its actor expression *nci p-ete* . . . after *n=f-kaa=n* has first intervened. Or, the initial conjugation base *e=f-na* and the particle *nci* encompass the two verbal actions *bōk* and *kaa=n* in the same way as they would encompass a single infinitive. The reason seems to be that the two verbal actions behave like a single one by forming a compound action. It is the conjunctive that holds the two components together in that compound action.

The following example is unusual in that the actor expression introduced by *nci* resumes the implied second person of the imperative.⁵⁷

bōk n=tetn-kte tēutn nci t-oui t-ouei (sic) *mmō=tn e-p-ēi n-te=s-maau* "Go away and return, each one of you to her mother's house." (Ruth⁵⁸ 1:8)

23 In the asyndetic perfect construction (see § 14), which is the narrative counterpart of the conjunctive, *nci* behaves in the same way, as could have been expected.

a=f-bōk af=kaa=n nci pe=n-re=f-ti-hap auō pe=n-re=f-ti
"Our judge and benefactor has gone away and abandoned us" (Shenute ed. Chassinat [see n. 9], 199, 30–33). For a parallel outside narrative, featuring the

⁵⁷ This example is quoted, though for a different reason, by H.J. POLOTSKY, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 25 (1939): 110 = Idem, *Collected Papers* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University 1971), 374.

⁵⁸ Henry Francis Herbert THOMPSON, *A Coptic Palimpsest Containing Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Judith and Esther in the Sahidic Dialect* (London etc.: Oxford University Press, 1911).

conjunctive, see Shenute ed. Chassinat, 200,51–201,1, cited in §§ 12 I.A and 13.

a=u-jpo=f a=u-s[a]nouš=f nci ni-[a]ggelos “Those (or, the) angels begot and fed him.” (*The Revelation of Adam*,⁵⁹ Nag Hammadi Codex V 81,10–11)

⁵⁹ Edited by George MACRAE in *Nag Hammadi Codices V,2–5 and VI* [see n. 52], 151–95.

NEGATIONS IN THE CONJUNCTIVE CHAIN

A. The Two Levels of the Conjunctive Chain

24 It was suggested previously that the conjunctive chain unifies verbal notions into a single compound action (see § 4). Two levels can therefore be distinguished in the hierarchy of the conjunctive chain.

1. The level of the compound action
2. The level of the individual component actions

The distinction between these two levels serves as the basis of a theoretical model for classifying negations in conjunctive chains. Negations may operate on either level. The compound action can be negated as a whole or the component actions can be negated individually. In some conjunctive chains, there are two or more negations functioning on different levels.

B. Negation on the Level of the Compound Action

25 In support of the claim that conjunctive chains signify compound actions, it was noted in § 4 that conjunctive chains can be referred to as a grammatical singular. Another feature lending support to the same claim is that conjunctive chains as a whole are negated by a single negation. Evidently, the reason is that, since a compound action is a single thing, one negation suffices to negate it.

In the following example, a given thought is first expressed in the affirmative, then in the negative. Only a single negation, *n . . . an* marked in bold, is added to the

affirmative first half to turn it into the negated second half. The English translation also has a single negation.

etbe ou tenou e=i-na-ouah=t nsa ou-daimōn
nt=a-ji n-hen-sahou ebol hitm p-noute
etbe ou N-t=i-na-ouah=t AN nsa pe-kh(risto)s
nt=a-ji n-hen-smou ebol hitoot=f

“Why now will I follow a demon and receive curses from God? Why will I **NOT** follow Christ and receive blessings from him?”

(Shenute ed. Chassinat [see n. 9], 72,1–10)

It has been mentioned earlier that the Coptic asyndetic perfect chain is a narrative counterpart of the conjunctive chain. This is confirmed here again by the fact that the Coptic asyndetic chain behaves like the conjunctive chain in being negated as a whole by a single negation. In the following remarkable example, one negation (*an*) suffices to negate an asyndetic perfect chain containing two second perfects. The negation applies to both perfects taken together as a compound action. The example has already been cited at the end of § 15, where attention was drawn to the fact that both perfects are “emphatic,” but nevertheless con-joined.

mē nta pe-x(risto)s ei AN ebol hm p-i(sra)ēl kata sarks
nta t-ekklēsia ei ebol nhēt=f “Does Christ **NOT** come out of Israel according to the flesh and the church out of him?” (Shenute ed. Chassinat [see n. 9], 146,52–57)

26 Likewise, in the following Late Egyptian example, a rhetorical question, one negation is used to negate an entire conjunctive chain.



js bw-jr=k hr (sic) *dd n=f "mn" mtw=f šm n=f* "Do you not say to him, 'There isn't any,' so that he goes away?" (pAnastasi V, 11,6 = *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*,⁶⁰ 61,14–15). Literally: "Do you not say to him, ' . . . ,' and he goes away?"

The underlying indicative and affirmative statement is as follows: "You say to him, 'There isn't any,' and he goes away." By questioning the opposite without expecting an answer, the rhetorical question introduced by *js* states the same thought with emphasis. The negation used is *bw*, which is part of the conjugation base of the negative aorist. A similar rhetorical question is *Wenamun*, 1,44–45, cited in § 11 above.

27 When a negated verb form is followed by a conjunctive, the negation of the initial verb form will often also affect the conjunctive in ways that are discussed in more detail below. There are instances, however, in which a negated verb form is followed by a conjunctive, but which do not fall within the scope of the present section on negations in the conjunctive chain. In such instances, of which two will be cited below, the conjunctive is in all probability not con-jointed with the initial verb form but with an infinitive subordinated to that initial verb form. The chain to which the conjunctive belongs therefore consists of an affirmative infinitive followed by an affirmative conjunctive. This conjunctive chain, which is affirmative on both levels, is subordinated as a whole to a negative imperative that is not part of the chain.

⁶⁰ Alan H. GARDINER, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 7 (Brussels: Egyptologische Stichting Koningin Elizabeth, 1937).

In the two following examples, the conjunctive could, grammatically speaking, be con-joined either with the negated verb form or with the infinitive governed by that negative verb form. An exegesis of both passages suggests that the latter option is to be preferred.



*m jr w3ḥ n=k pḥty m grg m-mjtt mtw=k djt šd.tw p3
bjt n jn* "Don't spare any effort in preparing and having
the honey of *jn* taken out." (*pAnastasi IV*, 14,10–11 =
Late-Egyptian Miscellanies [see n. 60], 51,3–4)

The translation implies that the conjunctive is con-joined with the infinitive *grg* "prepare." Preparing-and-having-the-honey-taken-out is what one should spare no effort in doing. The alternative interpretation, according to which the conjunctive would be con-joined with the negative imperative *m jr w3ḥ*, would yield the translation "Don't spend your effort in preparing, only to let the honey be taken away."⁶¹ But according to this rendition, the above passage would rather belong in a wisdom text as a proverb cautioning one not to let the fruits of one's labors be snatched away. However, the text deals with preparations for Pharaoh's arrival.

A second example is as follows.

⁶¹ "Don't spend your effort in preparing and (then) allow your honey to be taken away." Spend-and-then-allow is the compound action.



bw rh=f n3jj=j 3bjj hpt=f mtw=f h3b n t3jj=j mwt “He does not know my desire to embrace him and that he send a letter to my mother.”

(*p*Chester Beatty, I C 2,2, ed. Gardiner,⁶² Plate 23,2)

The conjunctive is conjoined with *hpt=f*. “Embrace him” and “for him to send a letter to my mother” together form the object of the woman’s desire.

C. Types of Negations

28 In section B, it has been argued that conjunctive chains *as a whole* are negated by a single negation. But this is not the only way in which negations can function in conjunctive chains.

All the instances of the conjunctive chain may be classified according to the levels on which the negation or negations operate. If one considers, for simplicity's sake, conjunctive chains with *two* component actions, the following types are theoretically possible.

On the level of the compound action, the conjunctive chain can be affirmative as a whole or negated as a whole. On the level of the component actions, individual actions can be affirmative or negated. By combining the different possibilities of negation on both levels, the following eight types of conjunctive chains are obtained.

⁶² Alan H. GARDINER, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty* (London: Oxford University Press, 1931).

I. The conjunctive chain is *affirmative* and consists of the following components.

- a. *affirmative* component + *affirmative* component
- b. *affirmative* component + *negated* component
- c. *negated* component + *affirmative* component
- d. *negated* component + *negated* component

II. The conjunctive chain is *negated* and consists of the following components.

- a. *affirmative* component + *affirmative* component
- b. *affirmative* component + *negated* component
- c. *negated* component + *affirmative* component*
- d. *negated* component + *negated* component*

Two of the eight types, II.c and II.d, are marked with an asterisk because, though theoretically possible, they do in fact not exist. Both would require two negations in the conjugation base at the head of the conjunctive chain, one to negate the first component, another to negate the compound action as a whole. However, a single conjugation base cannot have two negations in Egyptian.

29 Syntactic limitations impose certain restrictions on the position of negations in a conjunctive chain. There are only so many places a negation can go. As a consequence, some of the types listed in § 28 may coincide in form, yet differ in meaning. This is the case for the two homonymous pairs I.c and II.a, and I.d and II.b. The difference between I.c and II.a and between I.d and II.b pertains to the level on which the negation of the first verb form is functional: in types I.c and I.d, only the first component action is negated; in II.a and II.b, the entire compound action is negated as a single unit.

D. A Comparison of Types I.c and II.a

30 I.c and II.a are morphologically identical in that the verb form at the head of the chain has a negation whereas the conjunctive does not. But the types are semantically distinct because the negation works on different levels, negating in I.c the first component action only, but in II.a the entire compound action as a unit. Most instances can easily be assigned by the modern reader to either I.c or II.a on the basis of an exegesis of the text. It seems reasonable to assume that the ancient reader was capable of the same feat.

The discreteness of types I.c and II.a is confirmed by the fact that, in a good number of instances, I.c is especially marked. Since I.c consists of a negated component action followed by an affirmative one, there is contrast of the kind “not X but Y” between the two. This contrast is often made explicit by *alla* or *de*, marked in bold in the following examples of I.c.⁶³

*ešōpe er-šan-tm p-oua p-oua mmo=n metanoi **alla**
n=tn-sōtp na=n n-hen-p-et-hoou e-aa=u pe=n-snof ē
pe=n-tōōbe na-kto=f ehrai ejō=n* “If none of us repents
but if we all prefer to do evil things, our blood or our
retaliation will turn against us.”

(Shenute ed. Amélineau [see n. 11], vol. 1, 88,5–6)

*etbe pai t=i-parakalei n-tetn-mnt-rm-n-hēt e-tm-tre=
tetn-homelei n-hēt=ou **alla** n=tetn-ji hrē=tn e-n-šaje
et-ouaab et-na-šōpe nē=tn n-ōphelia* “For this reason I
urge you intelligent people not to associate with them

⁶³ The first three examples are cited by SHISHA-HALEVY, *Coptic Grammatical Categories* [see n. 2], 201 § 7.2.4(1)(a) and 204 § 7.2.5.2(1)(a). The fourth has now been edited by Paul CHAPMAN in *Several Authors, Homiletica from the Pierpont Morgan Library*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 524 and 525, *scriptores coptici* 43 and 44, 2 vols. (Leuven: Peeters Press, 1991), vol. 1, 84,32–33.

but to turn your attention to the holy words which will benefit you.”

(Shenute ed. Leipoldt III [see n. 56], 31,3–6)

e=u-šan-tm-r anaš m-p-ran m-p-noute n=se-eire de n-ke-anaš n=se-paraba mmo=f “If they do not swear an oath in the name of God, **but** swear another oath and transgress it.”

(Shenute ed. Leipoldt III [see n. 56], 19,4–7)

je nne=u-xrō n-ne=u-nomos n-ke-sop alla p-et-na-šōpe n=se-ent=f nnahrm p-hēgemōn kata n-nomos n-ne-hrōmaios “so that they might no longer use their laws **but** bring whatever would happen before the governor according to the laws of the Romans.”

(Pierpont Morgan M595 [see n. 63], f. 32v b 32–34)

But in the conjunctive chain of type II.a, both component actions are affirmative and therefore never in contrast.

mpr-sōtm ntōf ero=i e=i-jō n-nai n=tetn-ebš tēutn e-n-hoou n-nēsteia et-tēš “Do not listen to me when I say these things and then forget the assigned days of fasting” (Shenute ed. Chassinat [see n. 9], 102,2–8). Listen-and-forget is the compound action one is ordered not to do. This example has already been quoted, for a different reason, in § 4.

E. A Comparison of Types I.d and II.b

31 I.d and II.b are morphologically identical in that the verb form at the head of the chain and the conjunctive itself are both negated. But the types are semantically distinct because, in I.d, the first negation negates only the first component action but, in II.b, the entire compound action as one unit.

I.d and its relatives, that is, affirmative conjunctive chains consisting of *more than two* negated components, are very common with the conditional *e=f-šan-*.⁶⁴ When headed by *e=f-šan-*, type I.d expresses that a set of negated conditions A and B is valid simultaneously, while the compound action as a whole is affirmative: "If not A *and* not B." It is crucial to note that the affirmative equivalents of the component actions, that is, A and B themselves, are not con-joined. Rather, the component actions A and B are con-joined in their negativity in that, as conditions, they do jointly *not* apply.

32 The types I.d and II.b both have two negations. The second negation, that of the conjunctive form itself, functions in the same way in both types of conjunctive chains. It negates only the second component action. But the function of the first negation differs. In type II.b, it applies to the compound action as a whole; but in type I.d, it negates only the first component action.

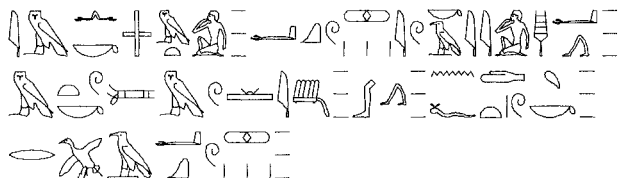
It follows that, in type II.b, the second component action is affected by *two* negations. It is negated directly by its own negation, that of the conjunctive, and it is subject indirectly to the first negation, which applies to the compound action as a whole.

The semantic effect of the two negations in type II.b is remarkable, as can be seen from a discussion of an example below. In brief, there are two negations and two component actions in II.b, but the net semantic result is that *neither* of the two component actions is stated in the negative.

Incidentally, this very semantic effect may be considered an argument in favor of distinguishing two levels in the conjunctive chain and hence of the conjunctive's con-joining function itself.

⁶⁴ According to SHISHA-HALEVY, *Coptic Grammatical Categories* [see n. 2], 200 § 7.2.3.5(2)(b), "negation maintenance," which roughly corresponds to type I.d, is "stylistically distinctive" in conditional clauses.

An example of type II.b is as follows.



jmj=k wnm ^c*qw jw ky* ^h*c mtw=k tm j3w n=f drt=k r p3* ^c*qw* “Do not eat bread while another stands by without extending your hand to the bread for him” (*The Instruction of Any*,⁶⁵ 8,3–4). Literally: “Do not eat-bread-and-then-not-extend-your-hand-to-the-bread-for-him.” For “without” as a translational equivalent of the conjunctive, see §§ 60–61.

This example offers an excellent illustration of how the negation mechanism works in the conjunctive chain in general and in instances of II.b in specific.

There are two negations in the passage, namely *jmj* and *tm*. The negation *tm* only negates the second component action *mtw=k tm j3w*. But in addition, *tm* is subordinate to the negation *jmj* of *jmj=k wnm*, because *jmj* applies to the compound action as a whole. As a result, the two negations *jmj* and *tm* cancel one another with reference to the second component action *j3w* “extend.” The term “cancel” is not meant to imply that it would have been the same in the above passage to use no negations instead of two negations canceling one another; there is a difference of nuance between the two expressions, and human speech differs from mathematics and logic in this respect. Rather, “cancel” is used here to refer to the fact that, as a result of the two negations, the statement

⁶⁵ Émile SUYS, *La sagesse d'Ani: texte, traduction, et commentaire*, *Analecta Orientalia* 11 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1935).

above *does* urge one to extend one's hand when eating bread while another person stands by.

Whereas the second component action *j3w* "extend" is affected by both negations *jmj* and *tm*, the first component *wnm* "eat" is only influenced by *jmj*. But the effect of the negation *jmj* on *wnm* "eat" is equally remarkable as that of *jmj* and *tm* on *j3w* "extend" described above.

The negation *jmj* in *jmj=k wnm* does not apply to *wnm* "eat," the first component action, by itself, but rather to *wnm* as part of a compound action consisting of both *wnm* and *j3w*. As a result, the statement does not urge one not to eat. Rather, it exhorts one not to eat while not sharing with a bystander. In other words, one can eat, but one should share with a bystander when doing so.

In conclusion, in spite of the two negations *jmj* and *tm*, neither of the actions *wnm* and *j3w* is stated in the negative in the above passage from the Instruction of Any, because the example neither states that one should not eat nor that one should not extend one's hand. At first sight, the example presents itself as consisting of two negations, *jmj* and *tm*, each accompanying an action, *wnm* for the first negation, *j3w* for the second negation. But it appears that the relationship between the two negations and the two actions is far more complex than that the first negation simply negates the first action and the second negation the second action. The effect of the two negations is diffused in ways that can be accounted for by assuming two levels of hierarchy in the conjunctive chain. Because of this hierarchy, the second negation *tm* is affected by the first negation *jmj*, and because of this hierarchy, the first negation *jmj* applies to a larger unit than just the first component action. Another example of type II.b is as follows.

"If everyone is summoned to the eating place," *nne rōme n-hēt=n cō n=f-tm-bōk e-p-ouōm* "no one among us shall stay (behind) and not go to the meal."

(Shenute ed. Leipoldt IV [see n. 24], 103,5–6)

Again, the second negation, *tm*, is subordinate to the first, *nne*, and the effect of these two negations on *bōk e-p-ouōm* “go to the meal” is that one is summoned, in the affirmative, to the meal.

F. A Comparison of Types I.d and II.a

33 As opposed to the two pairs discussed in sections D and E above, I.d and II.a are distinct in form. I.d has two negations, II.a has only one. The difference in meaning between the two types is subtle and may be illustrated by a comparison between two similar examples, one of each type.

In I.d, two negated component actions are con-joined. In II.a, two affirmative component actions are first con-joined and then negated together as a single unit. An example of each is given below. In the first example, an instance of II.a, *ešōpe e=u-šan-tm-sōtm* is followed by an affirmative conjunctive. In the second example, a variant of I.d (with three component actions instead of two), *ešōpe e=n-šan-tm-sōtm* is followed by two negated conjunctives. The difference between the two types is reflected in the English translations, which have the same number of negations (indicated in bold) as their respective Coptic originals.

*ešōpe e=u-šan-**tm**-sōtm auō n=se-ji sbō e-r rm-n-hēt*
e=u-na-noj=ou ebol hrai n-hēt=n “If they do **not** listen
 and learn to be wise, they will be thrown from among
 us.” (Shenute ed. Leipoldt IV [see n. 24], 106,5–6)

*ešōpe e=n-šan-**tm**-sōtm nsa p-nomos m-p-joeis auō*
*n=tn-**tm**-ti htē=n e-m-paradosis n-ne=n-eiote auō*
*n=tn-**tm**-rike n-ne=n-maafe e=n-šaje n-t-tapro n-n-et-ti*
sbō na=n tenou t=i-r mntre m-p-emto ebol m-p-noute
je. . . “If we do **not** listen to the law of the Lord, **nor**
 take heed of the traditions of our fathers, **nor** incline

our ear to the words of the mouth of those who teach us, then I testify before God that. . . .”

(Shenute ed. Leipoldt III [see n. 56], 125,14–18)

In the first example, belonging to type II.a, *sōtm* and *jī sbō* are con-joined into the compound action “listen-and-learn.” This compound action is negated as one unit by *tm* and the literal translation is “*not* listen-and-learn.” In the second example, which belongs to type I.d, it is not *sōtm*, *tī htē=n*, and *rike* that are con-joined, but *tm-sōtm*, *tm-tī htē=n*, and *tm-rike*; the literal equivalent of the compound action is “*not*-listen-*nor*-take-heed-*nor*-incline,” with three negations, and not, “*not* listen-and-take-heed-and-incline,” with only a single negation.

In the affirmative counterpart of the second example belonging to I.d, the affirmative component actions would not be con-joined by the conjunctive because, in the negative counterpart, they are only con-joined in being negative. This may be illustrated by an example somewhat similar to that quoted above.

p=a-šēre tī htē=k e-t=a-sophia rekt pe=k-maaje de e-n=a-šaje “My son, take heed of my wisdom. Incline your ear to my words” (Shenute ed. Leipoldt IV [see n. 24], 131,14–15). The two actions *tī htē=k* and *rekt* are not con-joined.

On the other hand, the imperative of the affirmative counterpart of the first example, belonging to type II.a, would feature the conjunctive **sōtm . . . n=g-jī sbō* “Listen . . . and learn.”

34 In the example of II.a quoted in § 33, the individual affirmative component actions are con-joined by the conjunctive, but in the example of I.d they are not. However, the difference in meaning between the two examples, as far as the way in which the actions relate to one another is concerned,

does not seem all that striking. The reason seems to be that, as was mentioned in § 7 above and will be discussed in chapter 7 below, the use of the conjunctive will tend to be less prominent if the component actions are already thought of as typically belonging together. And this is probably the case with “listen” and “learn” in the first example in § 33 as well as with “listen,” “take heed,” and “incline” in the second example quoted there.

In fact, in the following example the conjunctive has so little effect that different manuscripts have instances of types I.d and II.a as variants, if one considers only the first two of three component actions.⁶⁶

ešōpe rō e=f-šan-tm-n t-mēse ehoun n=f-tm-aa=s
(Leipoldt’s “A” *n=f-aa=s*) *n-ou-kephalaion n=f-ji mēse on*
m-mo=s “If he does not cash in the interest, *and does*
not make it into a sum, and receive interest from it”
(Shenute ed. Leipoldt III [see n. 56], 65,24–26). The
words in italics can be omitted in translating Leipoldt’s
“A” (“if he does not cash in the interest, make it into a
sum, and receive interest from it”).

35 It is interesting to compare Coptic instances of I.d and II.a with their Greek originals. In the following instance of I.d, both Greek original and Coptic translation have two negations.

p-ete nne=f-šep tēnou ehoun n=f-tm-sōtm e-ne=tn-šeje
“As for he who will not (μη) receive you nor (μηδὲ)
listen to your words. . . .” (Matthew 10:14, Middle
Egyptian dialect [see n. 20])⁶⁷

⁶⁶ This example is quoted by SHISHA-HALEVY, *Coptic Grammatical Categories* [see n. 2], 201 § 7.2.4(1)(b).

⁶⁷ The Bohairic version (ed. HORNER [see n. 5]) achieves conjunction by the absence of *phē* before the second part of the relative clause: *phē ete n=f-na-šep thēnou ero=f an ouoh ete n=f-na-sōtem an nsa ne=ten-saji*.

But in the following example of II.a, the Greek original and the Coptic translation agree in having only a single negation:

me=u-jere ou-hēbs n-se-kaa=f ha ou-ši "One does not (οὐδὲ) light a lamp and put it under a bushel."

(Matthew [see n. 45⁶⁸] 5:15)

The presence of conjunction is made explicit in the Coptic version of both examples by the use of the conjunctive. But in the Greek originals there is no such explicit signal, at least in writing. Therefore, as it is written, the Greek version of the second example could be rendered as "One does not light a lamp, and one puts it under a bushel," instead of as "One does not light a lamp and put it under a bushel."

G. Types of Negation: Examples

36 What follows is a selection of Sahidic examples of the six types of conjunctive chains with two component actions.

Type I.a

AFFIRMATIVE COMPONENT + AFFIRMATIVE COMPONENT

nim n-et-na-kaa=f na=u hm pe=u-hēt n=se-cō hn ti-mnt-cōb tēr=s "Who will let him into their heart and then remain in all that weakness?" (Shenute ed. Chassinat [see n. 9], 120,25–29). This question does not concern the identity of those who will let Jesus into their heart, but of those who will do so *and then* remain in weakness.

⁶⁸ For Matthew, see also Gonzalo Aranda PÉREZ, *El Evangelio de San Mateo en copto sahídico*, Textos y estudios «Cardinal Cisneros» 35 (Madrid: Instituto «Arias Montano» C.S.I.C., 1984).

Type I.b

AFFIRMATIVE COMPONENT + NEGATED COMPONENT

nim p-et-na-sōtm e-nai n=f-tm-kō na=f n-ne-sbooue n-ne-graphē “Who will hear these words and **not** acquire the teachings of the scriptures?” (Shenute ed. Amélineau [see n. 11], vol. 2, 240,3). This question does not concern the identity of those who will hear these words or those who will not acquire the teachings, but of those who will do both jointly.

nim p-et-sooun an je n-halate mn n-tbnooue auō p-ke-seepe n-n-zōon se-me n-ne=u-erēu n=tn-tm-r p-meeue anon m-p-tōp e-ne=n-erēu je nn=a-joo=s je t-agapē m-pe-kh(risto)s “Who does not know that birds, cattle, and other animals love one other whereas we do **not** (even) remember our mutual kinship, let alone Christ’s love?” (K9664v b, ed. Wessely [see n. 33], 94 No. 31b). The conjunctive is conjoined with *se-me*.⁶⁹

Other examples are Shenute ed. Amélineau [see n. 11], vol. 2, 464,12–465,1, and Shenute ed. Chassinat [see n. 9], 26,4–16.

Type I.c

NEGATED COMPONENT + AFFIRMATIVE COMPONENT

Examples are discussed in § 30.

⁶⁹ But according to SHISHA-HALEVY, it belongs with *p-et-sooun an* (Coptic Grammatical Categories [see n. 2], 203 § 7.2.4.1[1][b]).

Type I.d

NEGATED COMPONENT + NEGATED COMPONENT

*hamoi ene mp=f-r laau n-agathon eneh n=f-tm-mouout de on
n-ou-at-nobe*

*hamoi ene mp=f-r apostolos eneh n=f-tm-paradidou on m-p-
joeis*

*hamoi ene mp=f-r ouaab eneh n=f-tm-ji šojne on e-mouout
m-p-joeis*

“Would that (Cain) had **never** done any good and had **not** killed a person without sin.

Would that (Judas) had **never** been an apostle and had **not** betrayed the Lord.

Would that (Caiphas) had **never** been a priest and had **not** advised to kill the Lord.”

(Shenute, Vienna National Library K928 [unpublished]⁷⁰)

If this example is interpreted as an instance of type I.d, then the conjunctive chain as a whole is affirmative and the two individual component actions are negated by *tm*. What does this mean in terms of the contents of the passage?

The three sentences contained in the example above are similar in semantic structure. What can be said about one of them should therefore also apply to the two others. Let us take, for instance, the first sentence, which states with regard to Cain, “Would that he had never done any good and not killed a person without sin.”

If interpreted as an instance of type I.d, this statement presupposes that Cain, just like Judas and Caiphas mentioned

⁷⁰ This example is quoted by SHISHA-HALEVY, *Coptic Grammatical Categories* [see n. 2], 202 § 7.2.4(3)(a).

in the two following sentences, had once led a virtuous life.⁷¹ What one might have expected Shenute to wish is that Cain had not disfigured his previous virtues by later crimes. The statement would then deplore that virtue itself is compromised when a virtuous life is followed by hideous crimes. However, in order to express this thought appropriately, Shenute ought to have used type II.a, in which, as distinct from type I.d, *tm* does not negate the second component action, as follows: **hamoi ene mp=f-r laau n-agathon eneh n=f-moout* (instead of *n=f-tm-moout* in type I.d) *de on n-ou-at-nobe* "Would that he had never done good and then killed a person without sin." But instead, Shenute employs type I.d, wishing in vain (*hamoi*) that two negated wishes might be fulfilled con-jointly, that Cain had *not* done good, and that he had *not* killed a person without sin.

In fact, it is plausible that Shenute may have considered using type II.a. However, the statement "Would that he had never done good and (then) killed a person without sin" would somehow imply that it would have been all right for Cain to kill Abel as long as he had not been previously a virtuous man. The use of I.d therefore wishes, after a manner

⁷¹ Theoretically, this example could also be classified with conjunctive chains of type II.b, which is homonymous to I.d as far as the position of the negations is concerned (for a comparison of I.d and II.b, with a detailed discussion of examples of both types, see §§ 31–32). But this interpretation would provide a rather awkward sense to the passage. The translation would need to be something like "Would that (Cain) had never (first) done something good and then not killed a person without sin." That is, "Would that he had never performed the compound action of first doing something good and then not killing a person without sin." This statement would lament the fact that Cain's good deeds have not led to the murder of a sinless person. It therefore presupposes the desire that Cain had indeed killed a person without sin, the reason being that the negation *tm*, which negates the second component action *mouout de on n-ou-at-nobe* "kill a person without sin," would be subordinated to the negation *mp=f*, which negates the entire compound action as a whole, if the example belonged to type II.b. But what is more, the statement also implies that Cain has *not* killed an innocent person, and in that respect, it is patently false, and interpreting the above passage as an instance of type II.b is out of the question.

of speaking, the best of both worlds, namely that a criminal like Cain had never been a good man, and that Abel had not been killed.

It is important to note that, in interpreting the above example as an instance of type I.d, it is not the affirmative component actions *r laau n-agathon* "do any good" and *mouout . . . n-ou-at-nobe* "kill a person without sin" that are con-joined, but rather their negated counterparts "never do any good" and "not kill a person without sin." This semantic structure is mirrored in the English translation above. As in the Coptic original, there are *two* negations, marked in bold. The con-joining effect, then, is rendered by not repeating "he" at the beginning of the second component action.

In spite of what has just been said, the logic of the passage remains confused and the thought that is expressed does not seem entirely felicitous. It would not be the first time that I have found the venerable abbot difficult to follow. For this reason, a slightly different interpretation may have to be considered.

It is possible that the confused logic of the statement arises from the fact that Shenute started out with one proposition but switched to another, related proposition in midsentence.

According to this scenario, Shenute began his statement with type II.a in the first half *hamoi ene mp=f-r laau n-agathon eneh* "Would that he had never done good." But then, it occurred to him that continuing with type II.a, namely with *n=f-moout de on n-ou-at-nobe* "and had (then) killed a person without sin," implies, as already indicated above, that Shenute's objection to Cain's murder is that Cain had previously been a virtuous person; in other words, the statement does not explicitly condemn Cain's evil deed. For this reason, Shenute carried on with type I.d, adding the negation *tm* as an afterthought, *n=f-tm-moout de on n-ou-at-nobe* "and had *not* killed a person without sin." According to this interpretation, the example above would be a combination of two propositions,

(1) the wish that good and evil had not converged in a single person, and (2) the wish that Cain had not killed a person without sin.

In favor of assuming a shift in logic in the above example is the fact that this would not be the only instance in which such a shift has occurred in the Shenutean corpus. Like the example above, the following statement is headed by *hamoi* "Would that. . . ."

hamoi ce ene mn rōme nkotk ē tahe nsa n-et-nkotk hn te-ušē "Would that no man would sleep or be drunk save for those who sleep at night."

(Shenute ed. Leipoldt IV [see n. 24], 180,3–4)

In this moralizing statement, Shenute starts out by stating *hamoi ce ene mn rōme nkotk ē tahe* "Would that no man were asleep or drunk." This beginning, taken by itself, implies that sleeping and excessive drinking are always wrong. Obviously, this is not true; there are exceptions. To introduce these exceptions, Shenute uses the preposition *nsa* "except for." Grammatically speaking, *nsa* modifies both *nkotk* "be asleep" and *tahe* "be drunk." However, it must have occurred to Shenute that there is a difference between sleeping and being drunk. Whereas the former is only sometimes wrong, the latter always is. But instead of starting over and restating his thoughts, as the modern prose writer would do, Shenute commits himself to finishing the sentence, with the result that, from *nsa* "except for" onward, the reference to drunkenness is suddenly and unexpectedly altogether dropped from the sentence, in spite of the fact that *nsa* modifies both *tahe* "be drunk" and *nkotk* "be asleep." The sentence therefore ends rather awkwardly in *nsa n-et-nkotk hn te-ušē* "except for those who sleep at night," rather than in the more logical *nsa n-et-nkotk hn te-ušē auō n-et-tahe . . .* "except for those who sleep at night and those who are drunk (in such and such a circum-

stance).” However, the latter option, though more logical, could not have been used because being drunk is always wrong.

The modern observer, then, perceives a change in direction in the sentence from *nsa* onward. The reason is that, just as in the example quoted above involving the behavior of Cain, Judas, and Caiphas, there are *two* propositions within the confines of a *single* sentence. These two propositions are as follows: (1) No one should sleep or be drunk (implied, by day); (2) No one should ever be drunk.

Shenute’s reasoning would deserve a study in its own right. Perhaps his standards ought only to be compared with, and not judged by, modern principles. It may have been appropriate to use sentences that change direction in mid-stream. A comparison between Shenutean and modern logic would probably benefit the interpretation of the illustrious archimandrite’s writings.

Type II.a

AFFIRMATIVE COMPONENT + AFFIRMATIVE COMPONENT

n=i-ouōm nt=a-sunage “I will **not** eat and hold mass” (Pierpont Morgan M662B[12]).⁷² In other words, I will eat and I will hold mass, but I will not do them together.

me=u-jere ou-hēbs n=se-kaa=f ha ou-ši “**No one** lights a lamp and puts it under a bushel.”

(Matthew [see nn. 45 and 68] 5:15)

⁷² Leslie S.B. MACCOULL, “Coptic Marriage-contract,” in *Actes du XV^e Congrès International de Papyrologie*, ed. Jean BINGEN and Georges NACHTERGAEL, vol. 2, *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 17 (Brussels: Egyptologische Stichting Koningin Elizabeth, 1979), 116–23.

n-se-na-cmcom gar an e-r hmhal na=k n=se-er hmhal n-n-ref-ji-n-cons “For they will **not** be able to serve you and serve criminals.” (Shenute ed. Chassinat [see n. 9], 49,8–12)

Type II.b

AFFIRMATIVE COMPONENT + NEGATED COMPONENT

mē p-aēr r ouoein an hm pe-hoou ē n-t=n-cōšt an n-hah n-sop ša-hrai e-t-pe eite hn t-oušē eite hm p-hoou auō n-t=n-nau an e-laau anon p-šan-htē=f on n=f-tm-tsabe ne=n-ebiēn “Is the air not luminous by day? Do we not often look up to the sky during the day and the night? And do we (as distinct from the saints) **not** perceive things **without** the Merciful One teaching us miserable ones?” (Shenute ed. Chassinat [see n. 9], 15, 14–33). Apparently, when saints see the world, God teaches them about it. We, human beings, however, **t=n-nau e-laau anon p-šan-htē=f on n=f-tm-tsabe ne=n-ebiēn* “we see things while the Merciful does not teach us miserable people (regarding that which we see).” In the example, this latter statement is turned into a rhetorical question by adding a single negation, *n . . . an*, to the compound action.

me n-rō=n na-tōm an t=n-tm-cn šaje e=jō “Shall **not** our mouths be shut and we find **not** a word to say?”

(Pierpont Morgan C8,⁷³ f. 4r)

⁷³ Walter Ewing CRUM, *Theological Texts from Coptic Papyri, Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series 12* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1913), 33–36. The translation is CRUM’s.

SEMANTIC TYPES OF CONJUNCTIVE CHAINS

37 In most of the examples cited previously, the con-joining effect of the conjunctive is as obvious as the contrast between the absence of "don't" in "Don't drink and drive" and its presence in "Don't drink and don't drive." But in other instances, it is not as apparent why the conjunctive is chosen to follow a given conjugation base when that conjugation base could simply have been repeated.

It was suggested in § 7 that it lies in the nature of certain actions to occur jointly. The con-joined character of these actions will tend to be marked by special constructions such as the conjunctive chain in Egyptian. But since these actions typically happen together, what is already thought of as con-joined is merely confirmed as such. The effect of the conjunctive will hence be minor. In other words, there will be little contrast between using the construction and not using it. Compare, for instance, presence and absence of "he" in "He ate and drank" and "He ate and he drank."⁷⁴

On the other hand, when special constructions such as the conjunctive chain con-join actions that do not typically belong together, the con-joining effect will be perceived much more strongly. It is such examples, though probably only accounting for a minority of instances, that deserve pride of place in the present study, for they best bring out the function of the conjunctive.

⁷⁴ In fact, "eat" and "drink" are so firmly thought of as con-joined that extra marking is needed to present them as actions that *do not* usually occur jointly, for instance, stressing "and" in "He ate *and* drank" or in "Don't eat *and* drink."

38 In accordance with this suggestion, a rule can be formulated concerning the semantic effect of the conjunctive.

The degree to which the con-joining function of the conjunctive is perceived as effective will be *inversely proportional* to the degree in which the component actions are already thought of as belonging together.

This formula allows for many degrees of effectiveness of the conjunctive. But with extinct languages like Egyptian, the degree of effectiveness cannot be quantified in individual instances, since most of the factors that would allow one to do so have perished. Anthropologically speaking, the ancient Egyptian view of which actions belong together probably differed in many respects from the modern one. Moreover, a single speaker may choose to present, for reasons unknown to the modern observer, the same set of actions once as a compound action, another time as separate actions.⁷⁵ Or a given text may be reinterpreted, as in the following example.

The Sahidic version of John 7:37–38 is quoted literally in one of Athanasius' letters.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Along the same lines, Bentley LAYTON notes concerning the use of the Coptic asyndetic perfect, the narrative counterpart of the conjunctive (see § 17), and the Greek constructions it translates that "the decision when to use *auō* 'and' and when to use zero conjunction must have been a very delicate matter: the Greek models for these constructions did not resemble their Coptic counterparts; the formal resources of Greek and the stylistic interests of Greek authors were very different from those of Coptic; thus the Greek model did not always clearly show which events in a narrative were thought of as being especially closely related" (*The Gnostic Treatise on Resurrection* [see n. 34], 184).

⁷⁶ Louis Théophile LEFORT, *S. Athanase: Lettres festales et pastorales*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 150 and 151, scriptores coptici 19 and 20, 2 vols. (Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste Durbecq, 1955), vol. 1, 51,7–8.

p[et-obe] mare=f-ei šaro=i n=f-sō p-et-pestue (sic) ero=i
 "As for anyone who is thirsty, let him come to me and drink, he who believes in me."

(John [see nn. 21 and 45] 7:37–38)

The function of *p-et-pisteue ero=i* "he who believes in me" is not clear. It seems to dangle at the end of the sentence and is hence in other Bible versions often taken together with what follows in John 7:38. It is not certain how Athanasius understood the phrase *p-et-pisteue ero=i*, but since he quotes literally, he may not have faced the problem even if he was aware of it. But another author, in a text falsely attributed to Shenute, did spot a problem and attempted an interpretation by adding *nci* before *p-et-pisteue ero=i*, making *p-et-pisteue ero=i* into the actor of the second verb *sō* "drink."

p-et-obe mare=f-ei šaro=i auō mare=f-sō nci p-et-pisteue ero=i
 "Let him who is thirsty come to me, and let him who believes in me drink."

(Pseudo-Shenute ed. Kuhn,⁷⁷ vol. 1, 2,3–4)

The result is two separate actions *ei* "come" and *sō* "drink," each with its own actor. The action was no longer perceived as compound and, consequently, the conjunctive was replaced by repetition of the first conjugation base *mare=f-*.

39 Though the degree of effectiveness of the conjunctive cannot be measured precisely, it is possible to single out instances located at either end of the scale, that is, on the one hand, instances in which the semantic effect of the conjunctive is maximal and, on the other hand, those in which it is minimal. The effect will be minimal when there is very little

⁷⁷ Karl Heinz KUHN, *Pseudo-Shenoute on Christian Behaviour*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 206 and 207, scriptores coptici 29 and 30, 2 vols. (Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1960).

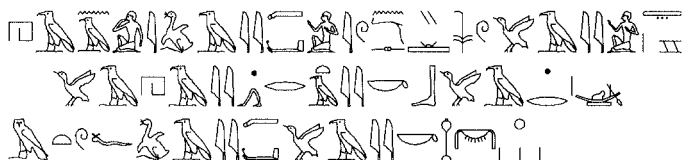
difference in meaning between using the conjunctive and repeating a certain conjugation base. The effect will be maximal when there is a sharp difference between the two.

Instances in which the effect of the conjunctive is minimal can be divided into groups. Only two groups will be exemplified here (for a third, see § 42). In the first group, actions are performed simultaneously by different bodily or mental facilities of a single person.

(“lips” and “mind”) *šare p-jaje kōrš hn ne=f-spotou auō n=f-meeue hn pe=f-hēt etocne=k e-u-hieit* “With his lips the enemy speaks sweet words, but in his heart he plans to push you into a pit.” (Sirach⁷⁸ 12:17[LXX16])

(“ears” and “mind”) *mpr-tre oua sōtm ero=f je . . . n=se-meeue je. . .* “Let no one hear him say . . . and think that. . .” (Shenute ed. Leipoldt IV [see n. 24], 39,4–8)

In examples of the second class consists, an action is preceded by a motion leading up to it, e.g. “go and see.”



hn j.t3y jw nsy sw (sic) p3y=j t3 p3 h3y r t3y=k br mtw=f t3y p3y=k ḥd “If it had been a thief who belongs to my land who went down to your boat and took your silver . . .” (Wenamun 1,18 = *Late-Egyptian Stories* [see n. 8], 62,13–14)

⁷⁸ Paul DE LAGARDE, *Aegyptiaca* (Osnabrück: Otto Zeller Verlag, 1972; reprint of the edition of 1883), 107–206.

40 In a lucid article on the conjunctive in Late Egyptian and Demotic, the eminent French Egyptologist Serge Sauneron discerns special usages (*emplois particuliers*) of the conjunctive, which he amply illustrates with examples.⁷⁹

Sauneron's examples are special, but not because the conjunctive is used in a special way in them. What is striking about them is that the effect of the conjunctive in most of them is very pronounced, that is, comparable to the effect of the absence of "don't" before "drive" in "Don't drink and drive."⁸⁰ Sauneron's study is therefore an interesting collection of such examples from Late Egyptian and Demotic wisdom texts.

Two examples from Sauneron's selection, both from Late Egyptian, may suffice here.⁸¹



m jr q r qnbt m-b3h sr mtw=k s'd3 mdw=k "Do not go to court before an official and then falsify your words" (*Wisdom of Amenemope* [see n. 48], 20,8–9). A free translation would be "in order to falsify . . ." (see § 2 REMARK 1).

⁷⁹ Serge SAUNERON, "Quelques emplois particuliers du conjonctif," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale*, 61 (1962): 59–67.

⁸⁰ SAUNERON's descriptions of conjunctive chains occasionally resemble the definitions of "con-joining" and "compound action" proposed in the present study, for instance when he describes a clause containing a conjunctive as "cette seconde proposition complétant la précédente, et n'ayant pleinement son sens que par elle" ("Quelques emplois particuliers" [see n. 79], 61), or when he criticizes a modern translation of a conjunctive chain by stating, "Il me semble que le lien de dépendance des deux propositions liées par le conjonctif n'est pas suffisamment souligné" (61), or again, when he refers to the relation between two component actions of a conjunctive chain as "ce lien entre le premier et le second élément" (63).

⁸¹ SAUNERON, "Quelques emplois particuliers" [see n. 79], 63.



*m jr sbj n k3mn mtw=k pt n nmj mtw=k ḥd šhrw n
qbqb* “Do not laugh at a blind man, tease a dwarf,
cause hardship for the lame.”

(*Wisdom of Amenemope* [see n. 48], 24,9–10)

The actions “laugh at a blind man,” “tease a dwarf,” and “cause hardship for the lame” all refer to contemptuous behavior toward the disabled. As components of the same larger concept, these three actions can be thought of as typically belonging together. This close relationship is reflected in the example quoted above by the use of the conjunctive. But the semantic effect of the conjunctive is not very pronounced because the actions are already perceived as components of a larger compound action. Likewise, in translating this example into English, the difference between using an equivalent of the conjunctive, that is, not repeating a certain element (“Do not laugh at a blind man, tease a dwarf, cause hardship for the lame”), and not using it (“Do not laugh at a blind man, do not tease a dwarf, do not cause hardship for the lame”) is not very striking since the actions are thought of as typically occurring together.⁸³

⁸³ In fact, they are so typically thought of as conjoined that if one wished to present them, at least in English, as *not* typically occurring together, extra marking would be needed, for instance emphasis on “and,” indicated here by italics: “Do not laugh at a blind man *and* tease a dwarf *and* cause hardship for the lame.”



m jr pt s jw=f m drt p3 ntr mtw=k hs hr j.r=f th=f “Do not tease a man who is in the hand of the god and make an angry face at him for his failings” (*Wisdom of Amenemope* [see n. 48], 24,11–12). With repetition of “do not”: “Do not tease a man who is in the hand of the god and do not make an angry face at him for his failings.”

43 It was suggested above that one’s perception of the relationships between actions determines one’s sense of the semantic effect of the conjunctive. For instance, if actions are thought of as con-joined, explicitly representing them so by using the conjunctive will be less effective. It follows that a given Egyptian passage may be interpreted in more than one way, depending on one’s interpretation of how individual actions relate to one another. Common sense may have to determine which interpretation is preferable. This may be illustrated by an example.

The component actions found in the example cited in § 42, “laugh at a blind man,” “tease a dwarf,” and “cause hardship for the lame,” were interpreted as typically belonging together. But if these same individual actions were understood as not typically belonging together, the semantic effect of the conjunctive would be very marked: “Do not laugh at a blind man *and then* tease a dwarf and cause hardship for the lame”; or, using Sauneron’s translation device (§ 41), “If you laugh at a blind man, do not tease a dwarf and cause hardship for the lame.” Although this interpretation is grammatically possible, it appeals less to common sense.

THE PROMISSIVE FUTURE AND THE CONJUNCTIVE IN COPTIC

A. Introduction

44 The *n=f-sōtm* pattern is not the only Coptic verb form called “conjunctive.”⁸⁴ In Ludwig Stern’s monumental Coptic grammar, the conjugation basis *tare* bears the name *conjunctivus futuri* “conjunctive of the future” or “future conjunctive.”⁸⁵ Stern even refers to *tare* as the “second conjunctive.”

The relation between the terms “conjunctive” and “future conjunctive” implies that the latter is a special kind of conjunctive, or that it functions like the conjunctive but has some additional feature. It will be argued below, however, that the name “future conjunctive” is misleading because the function of the conjunctive and that of the future conjunctive share no essential features. On the other hand, it needs to be admitted that, in the post-Classical period, the history of conjunctive seems to have become intertwined to a certain extent with that of *tare* (§§ 53–56).

⁸⁴ In some earlier grammars, the conjunctive is occasionally called “subjunctive.” The former term is now well established, however, at the virtual exclusion of the latter.

⁸⁵ STERN, *Koptische Grammatik* [see n. 3], 284–85. STERN’s *conjunctivus futuri* was adopted as “Future Conjunctive” by H.J. POLOTSKY, “The Coptic Conjugation System,” *Orientalia*, 29 (1960): 392–422 = *Idem, Collected Papers* [see n. 57], 238–68. More recently, in his *summa grammaticae copticae* (*Grundlagen* [see n. 43], 163), POLOTSKY regretted having espoused the term, arguing that “conjunctive” may be justified but not “of the future.” The present essay takes the opposite view by arguing that “of the future” is appropriate whereas “conjunctive” is not.

The function of the conjugation base *tare* is a very specific one. It will first be described (see §§ 45–48) before comparing its function with that of the conjunctive (§§ 49–56).

The examples of *tare* cited below are all taken from Sahidic; the verb form rarely appears outside that dialect.

B. *The Function of the Conjugation Base tare*

45 Few forms bear witness to the highly sophisticated nature of the Egyptian language as much as the conjugation base *tare*.⁸⁶ It is a specialized form used in a very specific context. The general setting in which *tare* appears, or the *Sitz-im-Leben* of the form, may be defined as that of an *agreement* or “deal” between two parties. The first party is ordered to do something; the second party, the speaker, personally guarantees that if the command is implemented, the desired consequence will take effect. The following is a classic example.

aitei tar=ou-ti nē=tn šine tare=tn-cine tōhm tar=ou-ouōn nē=tn “Ask, and it will be given you. Seek, and you will find. Knock, and it will be opened to you.”

(Matthew [see nn. 45 and 68] 7:7)

⁸⁶ Function and etymology were defined by H.J. POLOTSKY, *Études de syntaxe copte* (Cairo: Société d'Archéologie Copte, 1944), 1–19 = Idem, *Collected Papers* [see n. 57], 106–24. POLOTSKY also discusses *tare=f-sōtm* in “Modes grecs en copte?” *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum*, Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute 2 (Boston: The Byzantine Institute, 1950), 73–90, at 87–89 = Idem, *Collected Papers* [see n. 57], 208–25, at 222–24, and in *Grundlagen* [see n. 43], 163–65. For *tare* in non-Biblical texts, see Michael GREEN, “The *tare* Pattern in Coptic Non-Biblical Texts,” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 110 (1983): 132–43; GREEN states (142) that “the definitive study [on the function of *tare* in Biblical texts] is that of [Louis Théophile] LEFORT [“A propos de syntaxe copte,” *Le Muséon*, 60 (1947): 7–28]”; however, LEFORT’s theory that *tare=f-sōtm* mimics the function of a Greek verb form was “rebutted” (JOHNSON, *The Demotic Verbal System* [see n. 10], 279 top) by POLOTSKY in his contribution to the Crum Festschrift cited above.

The conjugation base *tare* therefore typically follows an imperative, and where it does not do so, ellipsis of an imperative may be assumed, as in the following example.

nim pe tar=n-makarize mmo=f “Who is he? (Tell us,) and we will congratulate him.”

(Sirach [see n. 78] 34[LXX31]:9)

Greek originals of *tare* are rather bland in comparison with their Coptic translation equivalents. They consist of καί “and” followed by a future tense. Coptic *tare*, on the other hand, is a special form, all ready-made to express precisely the nuance desired by the context.

46 The function of *tare=f-sōtm* has four basic components. Each of these components can be explained by reference to the etymology of the verb form. The etymological ancestor of *tare=f-sōtm* is *dj=j jr=f sdm*, which can be translated literally as “so that I may cause that he does hearing.” The four characteristics of the element *dj=j* “so that I may cause,” Coptic *t=a* in *tare=f-sōtm*, each of which accounts for one component of the function of *tare*, are as follows.

1. The form *dj=j* is *dependent* on what precedes. This dependency is in all probability the same as that of the Middle Egyptian prospective *sdm=f* found in consecutive or final clauses. The relationship between Middle Egyptian *dj=j* and verb forms that precede it will be discussed in section C below.

2. As a prospective form, *dj=j* refers to the *future*.

3. The verb *rdj*, when followed by a subordinated prospective, as is the case with *dj=j*, is an equivalent of English “cause.” Or, the verb has *causative* meaning in the expression **dj=j jr=f sdm*.

4. The first person suffix pronoun in *dj=j* “so that I may cause” indicates that it is the speaker who causes something

to happen when the imperative preceding *tare=f-sōtm* is implemented.

With regard to features (3) and (4), it is crucial to note that the meaning of causality and of the first person suffix pronoun has weakened in Coptic in that the speaker no longer *causes* something to happen but only *guarantees* that it will happen.

This weakening from the expression of causation by the first person to that of guarantee or promise is already found in certain instances of the Demotic predecessor of Coptic *tare=f-sōtm*. An example is *pLouvre 2414*, 1,12: *mts p3y=k šr dj=j jr p3 t3 mr=f* "Educate (?) your son and, I promise you, the land shall love him."⁸⁷ Rendering *dj=j* literally as "and I will (personally) cause the land to love him" makes little sense.⁸⁸

47 Few Coptic verb forms have borne so many different names as Coptic *tare=f-sōtm*. In assigning a name to the form, each of the four features listed above ideally ought to be taken into consideration. It is suggested here, then, that the form be named *promissive future* and classified with the clause conjugations. By classifying *tare=f-sōtm* with the clause conjugations and taking the term "clause," as distinct from "sentence," to refer to dependent or subordinated units, the first feature listed above (see [1] in § 46) is taken into account. The component "future," then, refers to the second feature (see [2] in § 46). Finally, "promissive" refers to the third and fourth features (see [3] and [4] in § 46); the term is used here to

⁸⁷ Even more literally, including the dependent character of *dj=j*: "so that, I promise you, the land might love him." This example is cited by JOHNSON, *The Demotic Verbal System* [see n. 10], 277.

⁸⁸ For Late Egyptian predecessors of *tare*, see GROLL, *The Negative Verbal System of Late Egyptian* [see n. 28], 241–44 "Excursus VI." For a possible Middle Egyptian precursor, see Mordechai GILULA, "A Middle Egyptian Example for the Coptic *tarefsōtm*," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 34 (1975): 135–36.

designate causation by the speaker or first person that is weakened to the point of guarantee or promise.⁸⁹

48 The actions in a sentence containing a promissive future can be conveniently represented in two columns indicating what each of the two partners in the agreement is supposed to do. This shows how the “deal is cut” between two parties in passages featuring *tare=f-sōtm*. Let us take the example of Matthew 7:7 cited in § 45.

WHAT YOU ARE
ORDERED TO DO

aitei “ask”

šine “seek”

tōhm “knock”

WHAT I GUARANTEE
WILL HAPPEN

ti “give”

cine “find”

ouōn “open”

The function of the promissive future differs markedly from that of the conjunctive, in spite of some non-essential similarities which will be discussed in section C. An example in which the conjunctive and the promissive future are variants may illustrate this.⁹⁰ One manuscript variant of Wisdom of Solomon 6:12(LXX11), called here version A, features a conjunctive chain consisting of two component actions followed by a promissive future: *oueš n=a-šaje ce n=tetn-merit=ou tare=tn-ji te-sbō*. But another variant, referred to here as version B, has a conjunctive chain of three component actions; it has the conjunctive *a[uō] n=tetn-ji sbō* instead of the pro-

⁸⁹ The term “promissive” was first used to describe *tare=f-sōtm* by POLOTSKY, *Grundlagen* [see n. 43], 164, 164 n. 17.

⁹⁰ This example is cited, in both variants, by POLOTSKY, *Études de syntaxe copte* [see n. 86], 4, 4 n. 1 = Idem, *Collected Papers* [see n. 57], 109, 109 n. 1.

missive future *tare=tn-ji te-sbō*. The relations among the three actions *oueš n=a-šaje* “long for my words,” *merit=ou* “love them,” and *ji te-sbō* “receive the teaching” differ from one version to another, as indicated in the following tables.

VERSION A

WHAT YOU ARE
ORDERED TO DO

WHAT I GUARANTEE
WILL HAPPEN

oueš n=a-šaje
merit=ou

ji te-sbō

VERSION B

WHAT YOU ARE
ORDERED TO DO

WHAT I GUARANTEE
WILL HAPPEN

oueš n=a-šaje
merit=ou
ji sbō

The translations differ accordingly. Version A is to be rendered as “Long for my words and love them, and you will receive the teaching.”⁹¹ Version B should be translated as “Long for my words, love them, and learn.”

*C. The Promissive Future and the Conjunctive:
A Comparison of Their Functions*

49 Ever since the promissive future and the conjunctive have been studied, the two forms have been associated in one way or another. After illustrating once more the difference in function between them (§ 50), the two principal reasons for this association will be investigated (§§ 51–52). The first reason is

⁹¹ More literally, “so that, I promise you, you might receive the teaching.”

that both verb forms contract a relationship of dependence with what precedes (§ 51). Second, both have the same form for the first person singular, (*n*)*ta* (§ 52). It should be stressed, however, that these similarities are secondary. They do not affect the fundamental difference in function between the conjunctive and the promissive future.

This is followed by a brief investigation of certain historical developments that have affected the promissive future in "post-Classical Sahidic." In a first development, *tare* became increasingly used in final clauses in which the promissive character had disappeared (§ 53). In other words, of the four features listed in § 46, (3) and (4) faded out and (1) and (2) were retained. Since the future dependency expressed by (1) and (2) is the same as that found in Old and Middle Egyptian final clauses, the consecutive or final meaning of *tare* in later Coptic is not a late development, but can be traced back to the earliest known stages of Egyptian. In a second development, the dividing line between promissive future and conjunctive became less sharp in later Sahidic (§§ 54–55). As an appendix, a rare conjugation base (*n*)*te*, preceding nouns as actors, is discussed (§ 56).

50 The difference in function between the promissive future and the conjunctive can be illustrated by a comparative exegesis of two examples. The conjunctive and the promissive future appear in similar contexts, preceded by *nim p-et-na* . . . "Who will. . . ?" and *nim p-enta=f* . . . "Who has. . . ?" respectively.

CONJUNCTIVE

nim gar p-et-na-klēronomei n-t-mnt-ero n-m-pēue
n=se-tm-šōpe e=u-o n-rro "For who will inherit the
kingdom of the heavens and not become king?"

(Shenute ed. Leipoldt IV [see n. 24], 4,27–5,1)

PROMISSIVE FUTURE

nim p-enta=f-nau ero=f tare=f-šaje ero=f "Who has seen him? (Tell me,) and he shall (be able to) describe him (for me)" (Sirach [see n. 82] 43:34). More literally: "Who has seen him? (Tell me,) so that, I promise you, he might describe him?"

Both sentences are questions asking for the identity (*nim* "who?") of the actor of a certain action. In the first example, the conjunctive is part of that action; in the second example, the promissive future is not. In other words, the question in the first example is not "Who will inherit the kingdom of the heavens?" but "Who will inherit the kingdom of heavens *and not* become king?" The implied answer, which is implied since the question is rhetorical, is "No one."

"No one" is also the answer to the question posed in the second example. But in this instance the question involves only a single action, "Who has seen him?" The form *tare=f-šaje* expresses the following nuance: "(Tell me who has seen him) and, I guarantee you, that person will describe him." Note that if, in the first example, the question had pertained to the first action only, namely "Who will inherit the kingdom of the heavens?" the answer would not have been "No one."

51 In spite of their difference in function, the promissive future and the conjunctive have always been associated with one another in grammars. Two reasons for this association are as follows.

First, the promissive future and the conjunctive resemble one another in that they contract a relationship of dependence with what precedes. But the dependent character of the promissive future differs from that expressed by the conjunctive. The difference can be traced all the way back to the etymological ancestors of both constructions in Middle Egyptian.

The ancestor of the conjunctive is a construction introduced by the preposition hn^c "with" followed by an infinitive.⁹² Its dependency on what precedes can therefore ultimately be derived from the relationship between a verb and a dependent prepositional phrase headed by the preposition hn^c . The ancestor of $tare=f-s\dot{o}tm$, on the other hand, is less easily identified. When the function of $tare=f-s\dot{o}tm$ was first defined by H.J. Polotsky,⁹³ the attention was focused on the relationship between $t=a$ and what follows, $re=f$, as that between a first person singular prospective form $dj=j$ from rdj "cause" and a subordinated prospective form $jr=f$ from jrj "do." The relationship of $t=a$ with what precedes in the sentence was perceived as secondary and hence not discussed.

As regards this relationship, it is obvious that $dj=j$, the precursor of $t=a$, is a prospective form. Since $dj=j$ is dependent on what precedes, its most probable Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian precursor is the use of the prospective in so-called final clauses.⁹⁴

The dependency expressed by the prospective in purpose clauses is problematic. Erman cautioned translators that a purpose clause may sometimes be "too strong" a rendering for this use of the prospective.⁹⁵ The reason is in all

⁹² For the etymology of the conjunctive, see also § 69 below.

⁹³ *Études de syntaxe copte* [see n. 86], 1–19 = Idem, *Collected Papers* [see n. 57], 106–24.

⁹⁴ GROLL, *The Negative Verbal System of Late Egyptian* [see n. 28], 241–44, discusses the issue whether $dj=j$, as precursor of ta in $tare=f-s\dot{o}tm$, is the initial (independent) prospective or the non-initial (dependent) prospective, but favors the initial prospective. This view is reflected in Jaroslav ČERNÝ and Sarah Israelit GROLL, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, Studia Pohl: Series Maior 4 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1984³), 331 § 2.1.4.5.

⁹⁵ "In einem Satze wie: 'bleibe noch einige Tage hier $wh3=j$ sw und so suche ich ihn. . . .' [Wenamun 1,21 = GARDINER, *Late-Egyptian Stories* (see n. 8), 62,2–3] würde die Übersetzung 'dass ich ihn suche' schon zu stark sein. Was ausgedrückt werden soll, ist nicht die Absicht, sondern nur die gewöhnliche Folge, die wir mit 'und so' wiedergeben" (Adolf ERMAN, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* [Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1933], 139 § 294).

probability that prospective forms translated as final clauses are in fact adverbial prospectives expressing, like any other adverbial verb form, a circumstance though, in this instance, a circumstance referring to the future.⁹⁶ "Circumstance" is a more general category than "purpose" and can therefore encompass the instances in which Erman found rendition by a final clause inappropriate.

In Late Egyptian and Demotic grammars, the form $dj=j$, in as far as it is the precursor of $t=a$ in $tare=f-s\dot{o}tm$, belongs in the chapter on the dependent use of the prospective $s\dot{d}m=f$. For semantic reasons, however, those instances in which $dj=j$ has exchanged the expression of causation for that of guarantee or promise can be treated as special cases within that chapter.

52 A second reason for which the promissive future is associated with the conjunctive in grammars is the form of the first person singular, which is the same for both conjugations, namely ta or nta .

The accepted explanation for this phenomenon is as follows. If the promissive future had a first person singular form, the etymology of this first person singular form would need to be $*dj=j jr=j s\dot{d}m$ "so that *I* might cause that *I* hear." Since to cause oneself to do something is difficult to conceive of, the first person form cannot have existed and the paradigm of the promissive future, namely $tare=f-s\dot{o}tm$, in origin cannot have had a form for the first person singular.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ "Au lieu de parler de ' $s\dot{d}m.f$ ' prospectif 'jouant le rôle d'une proposition finale' il vaut peut-être mieux reconnaître une forme circonstancielle du ' $s\dot{d}m.f$ ' prospectif" (H.J. POLOTSKY, "Les transpositions du verbe en égyptien classique," *Israel Oriental Studies*, 6 [1976]: 1–50, at 32). A literal translation of ERMAN's example mentioned in n. 95 would then be "Stay here a few more days, while I will look for him."

⁹⁷ For this explanation, see POLOTSKY, *Études de syntaxe copte* [see n. 86], 15 top = Idem, *Collected Papers* [see n. 57], 120 top.

But evidently, Coptic evolved in such a way that the promissive future “borrowed” a first person singular form from the conjunctive. The form borrowed is as a rule *ta*, rarely *nta*, apparently because the form *ta* more closely resembles the *tare* pattern.⁹⁸ In its newly acquired function, the form *ta* came to appear with great frequency in the position most typical of the promissive future, namely after imperatives. Examples illustrating the expanded functional scope of *ta* are as follows.

sōtm ce ta-jō erō=tn n-hōb nim “Listen, then, and I will tell you everything” (*Pistis Sophia* [see n. 98], 9,8). Note that the imperative preceding *ta* is almost exclusively *sōtm* “Hear!” in *Pistis Sophia*.

e=f-tōn i(ēsou)s p=a-son ta-apanta ero=f “Where is Jesus, my brother? (Tell me,) and I will meet him” (*Pistis Sophia* [see n. 98], 121,10–11). In this instance, there is ellipsis of the imperative.

The circumstances in which (*n*)*ta* acquired this additional functional load are not clear. Nor is it certain how the expanded function of *ta* was understood by the ancient Copt. It cannot be excluded that the translation process from Greek into Coptic played a role. The ancient translator knew that, after imperatives, Greek καί “and” with the indicative future can be rendered by the Coptic promissive future, another option being *auō* “and” with the first future. But instances in Greek in which an imperative is followed by καί with the indicative future of the *first person singular* must have posed

⁹⁸ In Shenute’s writings, “*nta-* is by far the more common form [but] *ta-* is attested almost exclusively in the post-imperative paradigm” according to SHISHA-HALEVY, *Coptic Grammatical Categories* [see n. 2], 187 § 7.0.2. The form *ta* also appears exclusively after imperatives in the *Pistis Sophia*; for the Coptic text of this Gnostic treatise, see the reprint of Carl SCHMIDT’s edition of 1925, together with an English translation by Violet MACDERMOT, *Pistis Sophia*, Nag Hammadi Studies 9 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978).

a problem, since the paradigm of the promissive future does not have a form for the first person singular. One option, of course, which is indeed found in the texts, is to render these instances with *auō* "and" followed by the first person singular of the first future.⁹⁹ On the other hand, Coptic translators were aware that *καί* with the first person singular of the future is often rendered by the conjunctive (*n*)*ta*, though in a different context, namely when preceded by another first person singular of the future; in such instances, two future events are con-joined in a single compound action by the conjunctive (*n*)*ta*. In order to transfer (*n*)*ta* to the post-imperative paradigm, that is, to encroach on the domain of *tare=fsōtm*, the translator may have needed some encouragement.¹⁰⁰ This encouragement may have come from the following morphological, syntactic, and semantic considerations.

⁹⁹ As distinct from *auō* "and" with the first future, the promissive future adds a uniquely Coptic, though altogether appropriate, nuance of personal guarantee to the Greek original.

¹⁰⁰ The *Pistis Sophia* (ed. SCHMIDT [see n. 98]) features the three following first person singular forms: *tari*, *ta*, and *nta*. In the syntactic slot after imperatives, so intimately associated with the promissive future *tare=fsōtm*, one finds *ta* and the new formation *tari*, as could be expected. Elsewhere, there is fluctuation between *ta* and *nta*. It is interesting to note, however, that this fluctuation seems especially acute after the first person singular of the first future (*ti-na-*). See for instance at 168,7–8: *auō nta-šōpe n-at-com auō on ta-šōpe n-at-ouein* "and I will become without power and without light"; and 170,14–15: *anok de t=i-na-fi n=ou-com tēr=ou n-hēt=f ta-taa=u ne auō t=i-na-ei nta-fit=ou* "I, then, will take all your powers away from him and give them to you and I will come and take them." The reason for this may be that there are two different analogies at work. On the one hand, the function of the form following the first person singular of the future tense is to con-join two future actions; such a context might favor the form *nta*, which more closely resembles the other forms of the conjunctive paradigm. On the other hand, the Greek *Vorlage* of such instances is exactly the same as those in which the form *ta* follows an imperative, namely *καί* with the first person singular of the Greek indicative future; this analogy would trigger the use of *ta*.

a. The form *(n)ta* resembles *tare=f-sōtm* morphologically.

b. The conjunctive is often found in the post-imperative slot, but in the second person singular and plural.

c. *(n)ta* and *tare* share a certain dependency on, or belonging to, what precedes.

d. The conjunctive form *(n)ta* did not express the notion of personal guarantee, as *tare=f-sōtm* does, but then, this may not have stood in the way of its being associated with the promissive future, since the first person singular of any verb form is in some sense a guarantee because the speaker can speak for himself or herself. After all, it is for this reason that the promissive future in origin does not have a first person singular. One only guarantees that something will happen when someone else is the agent, whereas the act of speaking in the first person is already in some way a guarantee.

All these circumstances may have played a role in the transfer of *ta* to an environment where it does not belong. In view of the role played by translators, this scenario assumes that there is something artificial about the use of *ta* in the post-imperative paradigm. On the other hand, it is conceivable that the four factors listed above caused *ta* to develop quite naturally in this peculiar manner, especially when the etymology of *tare* was no longer transparent and its ties with *rdj* "cause" had become obscured over time. That the etymology of *tare* was no longer clear appears from the new formation *tari* for the first person singular.

Whatever the details regarding the evolution of *(n)ta* may be, there is no denying that the form has in certain of its occurrences departed from its original function. This leaves at least two options. A first option is that there are two homonymous forms *ta*, one belonging to the paradigm of the promissive future, the other to the paradigm of the conjunctive; the first *ta* would express personal guarantee, whereas the second would not; the fact that the forms have the same etymological origin would be of no significance for the syn-

chronic system of the language. Another option seems more likely, however, namely that *ta* is an “overlap point”¹⁰¹ between the conjunctive and the promissive future, a sort of twilight zone, where the dividing line between absence and presence of personal guarantee is less marked because verb forms in the first person singular carry with them a certain guarantee. In other words, the fact that *ta* is a first person singular is enough of a guarantee.

Finally, the association of *ta* with the *tare* pattern may also be illustrated by an example in which three guarantees are made, the third by the promissive character of the *tare=f-sōtm* pattern, the first two by the first person singular form *ta* associated with that pattern.

*xala na=i n-ou-koui m-<p=a->paidēs t=a-pōrš n-n=a-cij
ebol n-ke-sop eti e=i=šoop hm pei-kosmos t=a-šlēl
e-p=a-rro pe-x(risto)s tare=f-šōp ero=f n-t=a-psuxē
n-ebiēn hen ou-ho e-men šipe n-hēt=f* “Loosen my chain
a little, and I will stretch out my hands once more
while I am on this earth, and I will pray to my king,
Christ, and he will receive my miserable soul with a
face in which there is no shame.”¹⁰²

53 Two other tendencies need to be briefly mentioned here. It is wellknown that, in “post-Classical” Sahidic, the conjugation pattern *tare=f-sōtm* acquires the meaning of a final clause. To this circumstance the form *tare=f-sōtm* owes one of the names under which it is perhaps best known, namely “Finalis,” coined by the eminent Coptologist Georg Steindorff.

¹⁰¹ SHISHA-HALEVY, *Coptic Grammatical Categories* [see n. 2], 187 § 7.0.2.

¹⁰² Walter TILL, *Koptische Heiligen- und Märtyrerlegenden*, vol. 1, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 102 (Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1935), 108.

The development of *tare=f-sōtm* seems to have been as follows. Of the four components characterizing the function of *tare=f-sōtm* (see § 46), (3) and (4), which account for the promissive character of the form, became obsolete, whereas the features (1) and (2), referring to the dependent and future character of the form, were retained. This evolution is in line with the history of the causative element *t=a* in *tare=f-sōtm*. In Demotic it underwent a first weakening from causative meaning to promissive meaning, which it exclusively had in Coptic; in later Coptic, then, the promissive meaning disappeared altogether. The evolution of the meaning of *t=a* over a period of more than a millennium is therefore one of gradual weakening.

What was left at the end of this evolution was an Egyptian fossil in the Coptic language, the type of dependency expressed by the Middle Egyptian prospective *sdm=f* in final clauses. The loss of promissive character of *tare=f-sōtm* is illustrated in the following example, in which the form appears in a narrative, a context in which the notion of personal guarantee by the speaker, "Do something for me, and I guarantee that something will happen for you," is not suitable.

tai te (ⲃⲉ) *ne a-p-marturos et-ouaab p-hagios mer-kourios ouōš e-pedeue mmo=s tare=s-oujai* "As for this woman, the holy martyr St. Mercurius had wished to educate her, so that she might be saved." (Pierpont Morgan M588, f. 30r *a* 38–*b* 2, ed. Frederick Weidmann in *Homiletica from the Pierpont Morgan Library* [see n. 63], 13–14)

54 The peculiar position of the first person singular form *ta* in the Coptic verbal system is one instance in which the dividing line between conjunctive and promissive future is less sharp. Another instance is the following.

Outside Sahidic, the promissive future is rare. In instances in which the promissive future is used in the Sahidic

version of the Bible, versions in other dialects will tend to have either the equivalent of "and" followed by a first future, a variant also found in Sahidic, or the conjunctive. The latter option may be illustrated by two passages from the Gospel of Luke, given below in both Sahidic and Bohairic.

Sahidic *kō ebol tar=ou-kō nē=tn ebol*
 Bohairic *khō ebol ouoh nt=ou-khō nō=ten ebol*
 "Forgive, and you will be forgiven." (Luke¹⁰³ 6:37)

Sahidic *ti tar=ou-ti nē=tn*
 Bohairic *moī ouoh nt=ou-ti nō=ten*
 "Give, and it will be given you." (Luke [see n. 103] 6:38)

The appearance of the conjunctive in slots which are reserved for the promissive future in Sahidic, slots in which the conjunctive is not tolerated in Sahidic, suggests that, here too, the conjunctive has encroached on the domain of the promissive future.

The following example from Sahidic, then, shows a certain similarity with the Bohairic examples just quoted in that the conjunctive seems to appear in a slot in which one would expect the promissive future.

tamo=n e-u-com e=k-eire mmo=s nte=n-ouah=n nsō=k
 "Tell us about a miracle which you are doing, and we follow you." (Pierpont Morgan M606, f. 2v a 24-26 [unpublished])

A comparison with the following example seems to support this assumption.

¹⁰³ For the Sahidic version, see HORNER's edition [see n. 45] and Hans QUECKE, *Das Lukasevangelium saïdisch*, Papyrologica Castroctaviana, Studia et Textus 6 (Rome and Barcelona: Papyrologica Castroctaviana, 1977). For the Bohairic version, see HORNER's edition [see n. 5].

ma-tamo=i je=i-e-je (for *je e=i-e-je*) *ou na=f tar=n-lo e=n-o n-hah n-šaje* "Tell me what I should say to him, and we will cease saying many things." (Job¹⁰⁴ 37:19)

In the latter example, the agreement between the two parties involved is as follows (cf. § 48).

WHAT YOU ARE
ORDERED TO DO

WHAT I GUARANTEE
WILL HAPPEN

tamo=i je . . .

lo e=n-o n-hah n-šaje

If interpreted along the same lines, the former example would have to be interpreted as follows.

WHAT YOU ARE
ORDERED TO DO

WHAT I GUARANTEE
WILL HAPPEN

tamo=n

ouah=n nsō=k

However tempting this interpretation may be, an alternative explanation of the use of the conjunctive deserves preference. The conjunctive is in all probability "con-joined" with the circumstantial of the first present *e=k-eire mmo=s*. The text refers to a miracle regarding which the following is valid: You-do-it-and-we-follow-you. The translation in English is problematic because of the change of actor in the conjunctive chain. A free translation with a consecutive or final clause again imposes itself, as follows: "Tell us about a miracle which you are doing so that we might follow you."

¹⁰⁴ Augustinus CIASCA, *Sacrorum Bibliorum Fragmenta Copto-Sahidica Musei Borgiani*, vol. 2 (Rome: Typis S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1889). The example is cited by POLOTSKY, *Études de syntaxe copte* [see n. 86], 4 = Idem, *Collected Papers* [see n. 57], 109.

55 The later developments in the relationship between the promissive future and the conjunctive, which have only been hinted at in the previous paragraphs, would deserve a study in their own right. Such a study would have to take into account the important fact noted above that the promissive future is rare outside the Sahidic dialect.

56 Another form located in the twilight zone between promissive future and conjunctive is the prenominal conjugation base (*n*)*te* found in certain mortuary stelae. On the one hand, the syntactic position in which (*n*)*te* is found, following an imperative, as well as the variant *te* remind one of the promissive future. On the other hand, the variant *n**te* is the same form as the prenominal conjugation base of the conjunctive. That *te* and *n**te* are variants of the same form is supported by the fixed formulaic character of the expression in which they occur and by the fact that four of the five stelae in which the examples cited below are found are associated with a single town, Antinoe. The examples are as follows.¹⁰⁶

ari p=a-meeue oun amok (for *anok*) *ti-talaiporos Phefronia nte p-noute er ou-na mpma=i* (for *nmma=i*) "Therefore, remember me miserable Febronia, and God will have mercy on me." (*Totenklage* [see n. 105], 6 No. 1,11-13)

¹⁰⁶ They are edited and described in full by Maria CRAMER, *Die Totenklage bei den Kopten*, Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse 219,2 (Vienna-Leipzig, 1941). Two more examples from stelae at the Louvre and the Vatican are quoted by Eugène REVILLOUT, "Mélanges d'épigraphie et de linguistique égyptienne," *Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne*, 8 (1875): 1-33, at 33 (featuring *n**te*) and by Ludwig STERN, "Sahidische Inschriften," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 16 (1878): 9-28, at 25 n. 2 (featuring *te*).

ari p=a-meeue te p-noute anapeue n-t=a-psukhē “Remember me, and God will give rest to my soul.” (*Totenklage* [see n. 105], 8 No. 2,27–28)

ari p=a-meeue n=a-merate te p-noute kō na=i ebol “Remember me, my beloved, and God will forgive me.” (*Totenklage* [see n. 105], 24 No. 7,18–19)

šlēl oun ej[ō=i] nte p-noute [er] ou-na [mn] t=a-psukhē “Pray for me, then, and God will have mercy on me.” (*Totenklage* [see n. 105], 25 No. 8,17–18)

[šlēl oun] ejō=i te p-no[ute er ou-na mn t=]a-psukhē “Pray for me, then, and God will have mercy on my soul.” (*Totenklage* [see n. 105], 27 No. 9,15–17)

The first and the fifth examples listed above, together with a third fragmentary example, were the focus of a fifty page study by Eugène Revillout, who, just before the rise of Berlin School, passed in review much that was known about the conjunctive and the promissive future at the time.¹⁰⁷ Revillout’s study, which is still quoted by Ludwig Stern in 1880 in his Coptic grammar, was soon after forgotten.¹⁰⁸ In his conclusion, Revillout associates the form (*n*)*te* with the pattern *tare=f-sōtm*. Several decades later, Walter Till quoted the third example listed above in his Coptic grammar, interpreting the form *te* as an instance of confusion between the conjunctive and the promissive future, which may have been caused by the fact that both share the form *ta* in the first person singular.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Eugène REVILLOUT, “Mélanges d’épigraphie et de linguistique égyptienne,” *Mélanges d’archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne*, 6 (1874): 222–39 and 8 (1875): 1–33.

¹⁰⁸ STERN, *Koptische Grammatik* [see n. 3], 273 n. 1.

¹⁰⁹ Walter TILL, *Koptische Grammatik* (Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1970⁴ = 1961²), 164–65 § 323, 164 n. 76 (read *te* for *nte*).

TRANSLATING THE CONJUNCTIVE

A. Omission of Elements

57 Omitting a certain element found in the original is often a fitting English equivalent for the conjunctive chain (see § 4). However, the typological affinity between the Egyptian and English constructions is not one of complete one-to-one correspondence, but rather of overlap. A detailed investigation could probably determine, in view of a standardized translation technique, where omission of elements is appropriate as English counterpart of the conjunctive chain and where it is not, and how much ought not to be repeated in individual cases. Such an investigation will not be attempted here. Yet it may be useful to illustrate the complexity of the relationship between Coptic originals and their English translation with two examples.

58 When all the component actions of a conjunctive chain have the same actor, the actor has to be explicitly mentioned with each verb form because the conjugation base of the conjunctive cannot be followed by nothing. But in translating such instances into English, the actor needs to be expressed only once, since the omission of the actor expression with all verb forms but the first is equivalent in function to the conjunctive in Coptic. Not only does the actor expression of the verb form heading the conjunctive chain have to be repeated in Coptic when all component actions have the same actor, but what is more, it even *must* be expressed when the verb form heading the conjunctive chain has no actor.

In the following example from Coptic, the conjunctive chain is headed by an infinitive. The conjunctive following it has the second person singular as actor, derived from the context. In the English translation, the actor is expressed with neither of the two component actions. Since omission of actor expression before the second verb form does not work here as a translation device, omission of “to” has been used.

homoiōs on m-p-jōk an ebol m-p-nomos pe mere p-et-hi-touō=k n=g-meste pe=k-jaje “Likewise, the completion of the law is not to love your neighbor and hate your enemy. . . .” (Shenute ed. Leipoldt III [see n. 56], 67,5–6). More literally, “to love your neighbor and *that you* hate your enemy.”

59 The complex relationship between absence of elements in English and the conjunctive in Egyptian and Coptic may also be illustrated by an example in which the conjunctive chain *cannot* be rendered by the absence of elements in English.

nim [n-]et-na-šaje hm p-ma et-mmau hm pe-hoou et-m[mau n]te p-joeis aa=u n-mpša n-ouošb=ou “Who will speak in that place on that day and be made worthy by God of being answered?”¹⁰⁹

In this example the conjunctive chain con-joins actions with different actors. Since the literal translation, “Who will speak in that place on that day and God will make them worthy of being answered?” is not idiomatic English, the second action has been rendered in the passive. Another solution would be to

¹⁰⁹ For the text, see in Fragment II a 7–9 in Enzo LUCCHESI, “Chénouté a-t-il écrit en grec?” *Mélanges Antoine Guillaumont: Contributions à l'étude des christianismes orientaux*, Cahiers d'Orientalisme 20 (Geneva: Patrick Cramer, 1988), 201–10, and for the implications of the interpretation presented here, see my “In Sinuthium graecum,” *Orientalia*, 59 (1990): 67–71.

use a final clause: "Who will speak in that place on that day *so that* God might make them worthy of being answered?" (cf. § 12 I.A).

B. An Etymological Translation

60 Various ways of translating the Egyptian and Coptic conjunctive were suggested above (§§ 12 I.A, 41, 57–59). In what follows, one other translational device will be discussed. Its principal redeeming feature is that it is, etymologically speaking, a fairly literal rendering of the conjunctive.

Etymologically speaking (§§ 51, 69), the conjunctive *mtw=f sdm/n=f-sōtm* can be rendered as "with him hearing." However, "with him hearing" is improper English. On the other hand, its negative counterpart, "without him hearing," is an accepted idiom. In fact, the first edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* states in section (11) of the entry "without" that "followed by a gerund or v(erbal) s(ubstantive) in *-ing*, ['without' is] equivalent to . . . 'and not'; an example provided there is "to pass by *without seeing* = . . . 'to pass by and not see'." The *Dictionary* also provides an example in which the undergoer of the passive gerund is different from the actor of the preceding verb form: "No person was . . . to blast coal without the charge having been inspected by the undertaker."

61 The device discussed in § 60 is applied in the translation of the following example.

*eis-hēēte a=i-ti nē=tn n-t-eksousia e-hōm ejn n-hof mn
n-ouoohe auō ejn t-com tēr=s m-p-jaje nte-tm laau ji
tēutn n-cons* "Look, I have given you the authority to
tread on the serpents and the scorpions, and all the
power of the enemy without anything injuring you."
(Luke [see nn. 45 and 103] 10:19)

When two component actions of a conjunctive chain have the same actor, the actor is not expressed with the second verb form in English, but it must be in Egyptian (cf. § 58).

nim p-et-na-sōtm e-nai n=f-tm-kō na=f n-ne-sbooue n-ne-graphē “Who will hear these things without keeping the teachings of the scriptures?” (Shenute ed. Amélineau [see n. 11], vol. 2, 240,2–3). Literally, “without him keeping. . . .”

In the following remarkable example, a manuscript variant even has the equivalent of “without,” namely *nouešn*, instead of the conjunctive.

nne rōme nhēt=n cō n=f-tm-bōk e-p-ouōm “No one among us shall stay behind without going to the meal” (Shenute ed. Leipoldt IV [see n. 24], 103,5–6). Or: “No one among us shall stay behind and not go to the meal.” Leipoldt’s “C” corresponds literally to the first translation: *nne rōme hrai nhēte=n cō nouešn bōk e-p-ma n-ouōm*.

RELATIONSHIP OF THE CONJUNCTIVE WITH WHAT PRECEDES

62 The scholarly debate on the relationship of the conjunctive with what precedes in the sentence has revolved around three contrastive pairs which will be discussed in the ensuing paragraphs. The three pairs are as follows.

1. Dependency and independence (see § 63)
2. Initiality and non-initiality (see § 64)
3. Subordination and coordination (see § 65)

The answer that will be suggested here for the relationship of the conjunctive with what comes before will make use of the terms "subordination" and "coordination" (see § 65).

63 It seems obvious that the conjunctive somehow depends on what precedes. Because of this dependent relationship, the verb form has been called a "clause conjugation," as distinct from a "sentence conjugation." But this terminology is problematic since the dependency expressed by the conjunctive differs from the dependency expressed by what are normally thought of as subordinate clauses in Egyptian or English. Typical subordinate clauses express various circumstances of the event stated in the main sentence. In English they are introduced by conjunctions such as "while," "because," and "after." Examples in Egyptian are the circumstantial clauses introduced by *jw* in Late Egyptian and by *e/ere* in Coptic.

The least one has to admit with regard to the conjunctive is that the verb form cannot stand by itself. The conjunctive is therefore dependent in the limited sense that it cannot

exist without that which comes before. In what follows, one way of referring to this type of dependency will be examined.

64 The Late Egyptian *jw=f hr (tm) sdm* and its Middle Egyptian predecessor, the so-called continuative construction, have been called “non-initial main sentences.”¹¹⁰ Since *jw=f hr (tm) sdm* and its precursor can be considered narrative counterparts of the conjunctive (see §§ 14 and 67), the term “non-initial main sentence” ought to be valid for the conjunctive as well.

The component “main sentence” in “non-initial main sentence” implies that the conjunctive and its narrative counterparts are on the same hierarchical level as preceding sentences. Yet the conjunctive does not quite express what one would think of as a main sentence. In fact, in Coptic grammar, the conjunctive is known as a “*clause conjugation*,” as mentioned earlier. It is probably for this reason that the term “main sentence” is qualified by the adjective “non-initial” in the designation “non-initial main sentence.”

The terms “initial” and “non-initial” have played an important role in Old and Middle, and to a certain extent in Late, Egyptian grammar.¹¹¹ The reason is that the knowledge that a verb form is initial or non-initial can be a crucial factor in classifying that verb form. For instance, a verb form can often be identified as substantival because it appears in initial position in the sentence, as the first component of an adverbial sentence. On the other hand, non-initiality may be an important factor in determining that a given verb form is adverbial.

¹¹⁰ For a brief history of this term, with bibliography, see WOLFGANG SCHENKEL, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 35 (1988): 237–45, at 241–42, a review of Éric DORET’s imposing *The Narrative Verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian*, *Cahiers d’Orientalisme* 12 (Geneva: Patrick Cramer, 1986).

¹¹¹ Since H.J. POLOTSKY’s statement in his “Egyptian Tenses,” in *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* II.5 (Jerusalem: At the Central Press, 1965), 2 § 2 = Idem, *Collected Papers* [see n. 57], 72 § 2.

However, the importance of "initiality" and "non-initiality" for Egyptian grammar has grown out of proportion because hieroglyphic writing does not notate certain crucial morphological distinctions, for instance, that between the substantival *sdm.n=f* and the adverbial *sdm.n=f* of transitive verbs. As a consequence, initiality and non-initiality are often the only features that allow one to identify a verb form.

At the same time, the sensitivity of grammarians of Old, Middle, and Late Egyptian with regard to the issue of initiality is only heightened by another deficiency of hieroglyphic writing, the absence of punctuation or spaces marking sentence boundaries.

As a result, grammarians and philologists are often caught in a vicious circle from which there is no escape.¹¹²

Yet, all this does not mean that the distinction between initiality and non-initiality ought to be raised to the status of a grammatical category in its own right, independent of the grammatical rules of word order. Diagnosing a verb form as initial or non-initial strictly only explains where that verb form as a rule appears in the sentence to which it belongs.

For example, the initiality of substantival verb forms in adverbial sentences, whose two main components are by definition a substantival element followed by an adverbial element, is in no way different from the initiality of an adjective in the *nfr sw* construction, or for that matter, from the initiality of "He" in English "He went home." These are empirical observations concerning grammatical rules of *word order* in Middle Egyptian and English. According to these rules of word order, the substantival component of an adverbial sentence, which can be a substantival verb form, *precedes* the

¹¹² For example, in First Intermediate Period inscriptions, interpreting a *sdm.n.f* of a transitive verb as substantival may imply that it is initial and interpreting it as initial may imply that it is substantival. But when neither morphology nor position can be empirically observed, which is often the case, it is not possible to break through this circle and attain certainty about an interpretation.

adverbial component, whereas the substantival component of the adjectival sentence or *nfr sw* construction follows the adjectival component.

In short, the distinction between initiality and non-initiality is an aspect of word order that happens to have become an important issue in Egyptian grammar because of the coincidence of two deficiencies of hieroglyphic writing, (1) the absence of features such as vocalization and accentuation, and (2) the absence of sentence boundary markers.

If the exact sound pattern, and not just the consonantal skeleton, of all Egyptian verb forms were known, the vicious circle mentioned above would be broken in all instances, and initiality versus non-initiality would not be an issue in Egyptian grammar.

It follows from this, with regard to the definition of the conjunctive and its narrative counterparts, that the term "non-initial," though not incorrect, does not define the essence of the verb form or the construction, only a circumstantial feature pertaining to word order. For this reason, a different suggestion regarding the relationship of the conjunctive with what precedes will be made in the next paragraph.

65 The crucial question regarding the relationship of the conjunctive with what precedes in the sentence is as follows: Are the conjunctive and its equivalents *coordinated with* what precedes or are they *subordinated to* what precedes?

The answer to this question evidently depends on how one defines the terms "subordination" and "coordination." There are many definitions for these two terms, but most involve the notion of hierarchy in one way or another.¹¹³ The answer proposed here makes use of the concept of hierarchy, more specifically the semantic hierarchy of the two levels of

¹¹³ For a discussion, with bibliography, see SHISHA-HALEVY, *Coptic Grammatical Categories* [see n. 2], 188 § 7.1.2.2.

the conjunctive chain, that of the compound action and that of the component actions (see § 24).

It is suggested here that the conjunctive is both coordinated with and subordinated to what precedes.¹¹⁴ A complex verb form deserves a complex answer. On the level of the component actions, there is coordination between the component actions. On the level of the compound action, there is subordination of the component actions to the compound action.

If one accepts coordination and subordination as valid categories, it appears that the combination of coordination and subordination is the feature that sets the conjunctive and its narrative counterparts, as well as its other equivalents (see chapter 11 below), apart from other syntactic constructions. It is the intuition of this mixture that probably lies at the origin of such ambiguous compound terms as “non-initial main sentence.” The semantic effect of this combination of coordination and subordination is, as defined earlier, to con-join actions.

¹¹⁴ SHISHA-HALEVY uses the term “subcoordination” to describe a single example illustrating a special usage of the conjunctive chain (*Coptic Grammatical Categories* [see n. 2], 194 § 7.2.1.1.3). It follows from what will be said here that this term can be used for all instances of the conjunctive chain.

CONJUNCTION BEYOND THE CONJUNCTIVE

A. Equivalentents of the Conjunctive in Egyptian and Other Languages

66 A significant number of verb forms and constructions in Egyptian and Coptic have in common that they express conjunction. There is therefore room in grammars for a chapter on conjunction. Conjunction is not quite coordination and it is not quite subordination. Its essence lies in the combination of coordination and subordination (see § 65). In some constructions expressing conjunction, the hierarchy is syntactically more articulated than others.

What follows is a brief discussion of some equivalentents of the conjunctive within Egyptian (§ 67) and outside Egyptian (§ 68).

67 The conjunctive can often be rendered into English by not repeating certain elements (see § 4). In fact, absence of elements is also used in Middle Egyptian to refer to con-joined actions. This may be illustrated by the following example.



juw=f wnm=f swrj=f "He eats and drinks" (*Book of the Dead*,¹¹⁵ Chapter 136A, Papyrus of Nu 23).

¹¹⁵ E.A. Wallis BUDGE, *The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day or the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead*, 3 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1910).

The absence of *jw* before *swrj=f* in the original corresponds to the absence of "he" in "He eats and drinks" in the translation.¹¹⁶

But better known instances of the significant absence of *jw* are found in the so-called continuative construction of Middle Egyptian.¹¹⁷

The continuative construction consists of an auxiliary element, *jw* or ^c*h*.*n*, followed by two or more instances of a past adverbial verb form, that is, either the *sdm.n=f* (and probably also its negated counterpart, adverbial *n sdm=f*¹¹⁸), the stative, or the passive *sdm=f*. A generic example would be *jw jr.n=j . . . jr.n=j* "I made . . . and made. . . ."¹¹⁹

The interpretation of the continuative construction proposed here may be formulated as answers to the following questions. The first four questions are synchronic; the last two, historical or diachronic.

1. *Is there such a thing as a continuative verb form?*

There are only continuative *constructions*, no continuative verb forms. The verb forms used in the continuative construction are also used elsewhere and are therefore not uniquely continuative. Morphologically speaking, they are adverbial forms.

¹¹⁶ The translation is Alan H. GARDINER's (*Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphics* [Oxford: Griffith Institute, Asmolean Museum, 1957³], 386 § 463).

¹¹⁷ The continuative construction is studied and well documented by Janet H. JOHNSON, "NIMS in Middle Egyptian," *Serapis: The American Journal of Egyptology*, 6 (1982): 69–73.

¹¹⁸ For examples, see DORET, *The Narrative Verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian* [see n. 110], 137, 137 n. 1617; *n sdm=f* can be both independent and adverbial, without change in form, as can *n sdm.n=f* (see the Preface at ix–x).

¹¹⁹ In the translation, conjunction is expressed by the absence of "I" before the second instance of "made." Cf. SCHENKEL, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 35 [see n. 110], 241 ("Ich machte . . . und machte . . .").

2. *How can continuative constructions be analyzed?*

They consist of two or more *coordinated* past adverbial forms *subordinated* to particles or auxiliaries such as *jw* or *ḥ^c.n*.

It is interesting to note that, while *jw sdm.n=f* can be continued by other past adverbial verb forms, the negated counterpart of *jw sdm.n=f*, namely *n sdm=f*, is said not to be able to.¹²⁰ If a construction **n sdm=f . . . sdm.n=f . . . sdm.n=f* existed, one would expect the negation *n* to apply jointly to all verb forms of the continuative construction ("He did not do A, do B, or do C").

3. *Are continuative constructions clauses or sentences?*

Sentences by and large express independent thoughts whereas clauses do not. According to this definition, the individual components of continuative constructions are not sentences because they do not express independent thoughts. Only continuative constructions as a whole are complete thoughts and therefore sentences, be it compound ones. These compound sentences consist of coordinated clauses jointly subordinated to *jw* or *ḥ^c.n*.

In continuative constructions as in conjunctive chains, all the component clauses, however many there are, are indispensable for the meaning of the compound action as a whole. Though each component clause of a continuative construction may make sense if considered independently, this is not the sense intended by the author.

4. *What is the function of continuative constructions?*

Their function is to con-join actions through a combination of subordination and coordination (see § 65). Chains of events con-joined in continuative constructions can be quite long. But even in such cases, there must be a difference of nuance between using a continuative construction and using independent verb forms to refer to a chain of events (cf. §§ 37 and 38).

¹²⁰ DORET, *The Narrative Verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian* [see n. 110], 136. Cf. SCHENKEL, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 35 [see n. 110], 241.

In addition, continuative chains probably also signify narrative sequence, as expressed by the linear order of the verb forms in the chain.

5. *What is the difference between the continuative construction form of Middle Egyptian (§ 69) and its descendant in Late Egyptian?* In the Middle Egyptian construction, conjoining is expressed by absence of elements. In Late Egyptian *jw=f hr (tm) sdm*, it is expressed by a morpheme, as is the case with the conjunctive. Although originally an adverbial verb form like those found in the Middle Egyptian continuative construction, *jw=f hr sdm* seems to have detached itself over time from its adverbial origin.¹²¹

6. *What is the early history of the continuative construction and how did it come into existence?* The continuative construction, as a narrative verb form, makes its appearance “at the beginning of the First Intermediate Period.”¹²² Remarkably, around the same time, the present perfect *jw sdm.n=f* “He has heard” expanded its functional domain to include narrative function (“He heard”).¹²³

As to the genesis of the construction, only a speculative answer is possible. But as speculative explanations go, one tempting interpretation seems problematic, namely that a chain such as *jw sdm.n=f . . . sdm.n=f* could be derived from a sequence *jw sdm.n=f . . . jw sdm.n=f* by omitting, or erasing, the second *jw*. This is sometimes described as “gapping.” This would mean, by analogy, that “Don’t drink and drive” is derived from “Don’t drink and don’t drive” by omission of the second “don’t.” However, “Don’t drink and don’t drive” is opposite in meaning to “Don’t drink and drive.” It is difficult to

¹²¹ For a detailed discussion of this issue, see Friedrich JUNGE, “Das sogenannte Narrativ/Kontinuative *jw=f hr (tm) sdm*,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 72 (1986): 113–32. JUNGE asserts that the Late Egyptian continuative *jw=f hr (tm) sdm* is just another usage of circumstantial *jw*.

¹²² DORET, *The Narrative Verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian* [see n. 110], 132.

¹²³ SCHENKEL, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 35 [see n. 110], 240a.

see how a construction could derive from its opposite. It therefore needs to be stressed that in *jw sdm.n=f . . . sdm.n=f* and “Don’t drink and drive,” the elements *jw* and “don’t” are not *omitted* but simply *absent*.¹²⁴

An alternative interpretation, equally speculative, would be that two or more adverbial past verb forms became associated with one another in certain existing syntactic positions, for instance, in being subordinated together to a single main sentence, and could hence be transferred to the position after *jw*, which is also an adverbial slot.

68 It is probable that most if not all languages have some means of expressing conjunction. In Classical Syriac, for instance, the absence of *wa/w* “and” is often used to con-join actions in the same way as the absence of *auō* in the Coptic asyndetic perfect chain. But as distinct from the Coptic construction, the Syriac construction is also common outside narratives.¹²⁵

In certain expressions, the bond between the components of the asyndetic chain can be very close. For instance, the verb *hpk*, which, used intransitively, means “return,” can be con-joined with other verbs as an equivalent of “again”; that is, “return and do something” is an idiom for “again do some-

¹²⁴ For a recent discussion of this problem, see SCHENKEL, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 35 [see n. 110], 240a.

¹²⁵ “Das Syr[ische] setzt nun aber überaus häufig zwei Verba, welche a) rasch aufeinander folgende oder zusammenfallende Handlungen bezeichnen oder b) von denen eins die Modification des andern ausdrückt, ganz ohne Verbindung zusammen” (Theodor NÖLDEKE, *Kurzgefasste Syrische Grammatik* [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966; reprint of the second edition of 1898, augmented with annotations], 263 § 337). Likewise, in Classical Armenian, verbs juxtaposed without *ew* “and” intervening “bilden eine Einheit” (Antoine MEILLET, *Altarmenisches Elementarbuch* [Delmar, New York: Caravan Books, 1981; reprint of the edition of 1913], 116 § 132).

Richard STEINER makes a related remark regarding compound actions in his “A Syriac Church Inscription from 504 CE,” *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 35 (1990): 99–108, at 104.

thing.” In the following remarkable example from the description of the year AD 1191 in Barhebraeus’ *Chronicum Syriacum*, the direct object of the verb following *hpk* precedes both verbs.

wa-ḥnan hāšā ’aṭrwātan hpakn nsabn menkūn “We, now, returned and retook our places from you.” Literally: “We, now, our places we have returned and taken from you.” The compound action “return-and-take” is applied as a unit to the object *’aṭrwātan* “our places.”

Evidently, the link between *hpakn* and *nsabn* takes priority over that between *’aṭrwātan* and *hpakn*.¹²⁶

B. The Middle Egyptian Predecessor of the Conjunctive

69 The etymology of the conjunctive was established by Sir Alan Gardiner in the late twenties¹²⁷ and, though it became the object of some dispute in ensuing decades,¹²⁸ is now generally accepted. According to this etymology, the conjunctive is derived from a construction consisting of three elements: (1) the preposition *ḥn^c* “with,” (2) a noun or an independent pronoun, and (3) an infinitive. That the con-joining function of

¹²⁶ In the Latin translation, *Nos nunc nostra loca repetimus vobisque eripuimus* (Paulus Iacobus BRUNS and Georgius Guilielmus KIRSCH, *Bar-Hebraei Chronicum Syriacum*, 2 vols. [Leipzig: Apud Adamum Fridericum Boehmum, 1789], vol. 1, 419 [text], vol. 2 [translation]), Syriac *hpk* is translated by *repetere* “head for,” a transitive verb, in an attempt to account for the proximity of *’aṭrwātan* to *hpakn*. However, *hpk* does not have this meaning.

¹²⁷ Alan H. GARDINER, “An Egyptian Split Infinitive and the Origin of the Egyptian Conjunctive Tense,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 14 (1928): 86–96.

¹²⁸ See the contributions by ČERNÝ, MATTHA, and VOLTEN listed in the Bibliography in chapter 13 below.

the conjunctive should ultimately derive from a preposition meaning "with" does not come as a surprise.¹²⁹

The construction just described appears first in the early stages of Late Egyptian. But as Gardiner points out, "it is extremely difficult to dissociate our construction entirely from the very similarly used Middle Kingdom construction with *hn^c* + infinitive."¹³⁰ The function of the Middle Egyptian bipartite construction is the same as that of its Late Egyptian tripartite successor: to con-join actions. But the principal difference between the Late Egyptian syntagm and its Middle Egyptian predecessor is that the latter cannot con-join actions with different actors, because it does not have an actor expression of its own. In other words, the functional domain of the syntagm *hn^c* + infinitive was vastly expanded in Late Egyptian by the addition of an actor expression to the syntagm.

It was mentioned in § 68 that most if not all languages have constructions expressing conjunction. Some of them resemble Egyptian constructions. A parallel to the use of Middle Egyptian *hn^c* "with" in the construction *hn^c* + infinitive is found in colloquial Tagalog, in which it is possible to say *kanta sabay sayaw* "singing *with* dancing" as an equivalent of "sing and dance" as a compound notion.¹³¹

C. A Con-joining Construction in Nominal Phrases

70 A functional equivalent of the conjunctive on the level of the noun syntagm is the conjunction *hi*, one of the equivalents of English "and" as a morpheme coordinating nouns. The conjunctive and the preposition *hi* both refer to compound notions that differ in meaning from the sum of their compo-

¹²⁹ It needs to be noted that alternative proposals for the etymology of the conjunctive also involve the preposition *hn^c* "with."

¹³⁰ See GARDINER, "An Egyptian Split Infinitive" [see n. 127], 87.

¹³¹ I owe this example to Violetta SCOTT.

nents. The conjunction *hi* is found in examples such as the following.

ou-sarks hi snof te "She is of flesh and blood" (Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*,¹³² 51,16). Literally: "She is a-flesh-and-blood-one."

ang ou-sarks hi snof "I am of flesh and blood." (Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts* [see n. 132], 148,14)

hen-kōht hi pn(eum)a ne "They are of fire and spirit."
(Crum, *Papyruscodex*,¹³³ 6,9)

In comparing *hi* with *auō* and *mn*, also equivalents of "and," it is a firm rule that the second of two nouns connected by *hi* is *without any article*. However, this empirical formulation obscures the hierarchy of the construction. The second noun is without article because the article prefixed to the first noun applies to both nouns con-joined as a compound notion.¹³⁴ This construction therefore functionally resembles the

¹³² E.A. Wallis BUDGE, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London: The British Museum, 1915).

¹³³ Walter Ewing CRUM, *Der Papyruscodex saec. VI-VII der Philippsbibliothek in Cheltenham: Koptische theologische Schriften* (Strasbourg: Karl J. Trübner, 1915).

¹³⁴ "Durch diese Fassung, *hi* diene zur Verbindung mehrerer Nomina, 'wenn das angereihte Nomen artikellos ist,' . . . wird . . . nur das Wesen der Konstruktion verdunkelt: die durch *hi* verbundene Nomina müssen beide artikellos sein. Denn in Wirklichkeit ist nicht *snof* durch *hi* an *ou-sarks* angereiht [see examples cited above], sondern die Verbindung *sarks hi snof* als Ganzes wird wie ein Einzelwort behandelt und gemäss den Erfordernissen des syntaktischen Rahmens mit dem unbestimmten Artikel versehen" (POLOTSKY, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 57 [1962]: 233 = Idem, *Collected Papers* [see n. 57], 233). Ariel SHISHA-HALEVY describes this as a "bracketing" construction: *ou* "brackets" *sarks hi snof* (*Coptic Grammatical Chrestomathy* [see n. 2], 14). Cf. SHISHA-HALEVY, *The Proper Name: Structural Prolegomena to Its Syntax—A Case Study in Coptic*, Beihefte zur Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 15 (Vienna: VWGÖ, 1989), 45 n. 116.

conjunctive. Just as, in the case of the conjunctive, the tense or negation expressed by the conjugation base at the head of a conjunctive chain applies to all component actions as a unit because the conjunctives are holding them together as a single compound action, in the same way the article at the head of a chain of nouns connected by *hi* “and” applies to all nouns because *hi* (and probably already its Egyptian predecessor *ḥr*) is holding them together as a single notion.¹³⁵

It comes therefore as no surprise to see two actions such as “eat” and “drink,” which are often con-joined by the conjunctive on the level of the sentence, connected by *hi* on the level of the noun phrase in an example such as *etbe ouōm hi sō* “regarding eating and drinking” (Shenute ed. Amélineau [see n. 11], vol. 1, 205¹³⁶).

71 Like the conjunctive chain, a chain of nouns connected by *hi* can be regarded from two different angles. On the level of the compound action, it is a singular (cf. § 4); on the level of the component actions, it is a plural. This ambiguity may be illustrated by the following example, in which one chain of nouns connected by *hi* is referred to once as a singular and once as a plural, another chain as a plural.

¹³⁵ A typological parallel to *hi* is found, for instance, in French compound nouns: “Il y a composition, généralement marquée par un trait d’union, lorsqu’il s’agit de deux dénominations qui désignent *le même actant ou la même action présentant une nature complexe et participant de celle des deux composants*. C’est le cas du substantif français *reine-marguerite* où il ne s’agit pas de la jonction d’une reine et d’une marguerite, mais de l’appellation par un terme double d’une seule fleur, qui présente à la fois le caractère de reine et celui de marguerite” (Lucien TESNIÈRE, *Éléments de syntaxe structurale* [Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1965²], 329). Italics added.

¹³⁶ The example is cited by SHISHA-HALEVY, *Coptic Grammatical Chrestomathy* [see n. 2], 154 example 22. See also the Sahidic version of Romans (ed. HORNER and ed. THOMPSON [see n. 45]) 14:17.

ērp hi mousikon p-e-ša=f-euphrane (singular) *m-p-hēt t-agapē de mn t-sophia sotp ero=ou* (plural) *m-pe-snau sēfe n-jō hi psaltērion n-e-ša=u-ti* (plural) *n-oulle*

“It is wine and music that delight the heart. Love and wisdom are preferable to them both. The flute and the harp are making music.”

(Sirach [see n. 78] 40:20–21[LXX22–23])

The similarity in function between *hi* and the conjunctive may be illustrated by one last example, in which a given day is characterized by two strings of actions that occurred during it. The first string is expressed by a conjunctive chain, the second by infinitives connected by *hi*.

pai pe pe-hoou ete=k-na-rime hn ou-siše n=g-štem-cen p-et-na-šenehtē=f haro=k . . . pai pe pe-hoou n-lupē hi aš-ahom hi emkah n-hēt hi thlipsis e-mn solsl nsa laau n-sa “This is the day on which you will weep bitterly and find no one who will have mercy on you. . . . This is the day of sadness, moaning, sorrow, and affliction, on which there is no comfort anywhere.” (*The Investiture of St. Michael Archangel* [see n. 36], vol. 1, 16, 13–17)

CONCLUDING REMARKS

72 This has not been a comprehensive study of the Egyptian and Coptic conjunctive. Its aim is a modest one. But in being limited in scope, it has endeavored to examine an issue of some importance: the independent standing of the conjunctive in the verbal system.

Underlying the present study is the belief that an exhaustive analysis of the conjunctive must fail if it operates from the assumption that the conjunctive derives any component of its function from preceding verb forms, a belief that has been all-pervasive of the study of the conjunctive. In the preceding chapters, different angles of approach have been taken in pursuit of lending this assumption veracity and affirming that the conjunctive is second to none in testifying to the sophisticated structure of Egyptian and Coptic.

73 The preceding pages are characterized by another limitation. They focus on a single function of the conjunctive, that of con-joining actions, for which the terms "conjunctive," and hence "conjunction," are, by a fortunate coincidence, so eminently suitable.¹³⁷ There are other usages of the conjunctive, for instance, after prepositions in Coptic. These usages are as important to the linguistic system as the function of

¹³⁷ The basic problem that is the subject of the present essay has been described succinctly by Jaroslav ČERNÝ: "As far as our present evidence goes *hn^c ntk sdm* [etymological predecessor of the conjunctive] was used originally as a continuation of an Imperative or its polite equivalent *jh sdm=k* and it must be left to future investigation why this continuation was preferred to a paratactic use of another Imperative" ("On the Origin of the Late Egyptian Conjunctive," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 35 [1949]: 25–30, at 29).

con-joining actions. But it seemed that examining conjunction offered better chances for raising the conjunctive to the status that it is owed.

Among aspects of the conjunctive chain that have not been examined here are the difference between presence and absence of *auō* "and" in Coptic¹³⁸ and the use of disjunctions such as *ē* "or."

74 Conjunction, as a function of the conjunctive, can be followed through the history of Egyptian, back to the Middle Egyptian origins of the conjunctive. Conjunction is also historically the original function of the conjunctive, which it retained throughout its history. Notwithstanding the importance of the synchronic study of language, the diachronic dimension may provide insight, especially since the aim of the preceding pages has been to study what the conjunctive forms of the successive stages of Egyptian have in common.

It is as if one were to study French *un* as an equivalent of "one," in its original function deriving from Latin *unus*, without making reference to its use as an indefinite article. The two usages of *un* are distinguished by the relationships they contract with other elements of the linguistic system. *Un* "one" contracts relationships with *deux* "two" and *trois* "three." *Un* "a" is the counterpart of *le* "the." Likewise, the conjunctive has been examined as con-joiner, that is, in terms of its original function. This usage is distinct from the others because it contracts different relationships with other parts of the linguistic system; in other words, it is part of a different paradigm than, for instance, the conjunctive following prepositions.

¹³⁸ SHISHA-HALEVY, *Coptic Grammatical Categories* [see n. 2], 200 § 7.2.4, states that, in "conditional and temporal protatic syntagms," the "distinction between [presence of *auō* in the conjunctive chain] and [absence of *auō*] is difficult, perhaps not warranted." Whatever the nuance expressed by *auō* may be, it does not seem to affect the con-joining function of the conjunctive chain.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE CONJUNCTIVE

(This does not include the relevant chapters in grammars.)

- BORGHOUTS, Joris F., "A New Approach to the Late Egyptian Con-junctive," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertums-kunde*, 106 (1979): 14–24.
- BROWNE, G. Michael, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 36 (1979): 181–83, at 182. Review of Tito Orlandi, *Il dossier copto del martire Psote. Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'Antichità* 61. Milano: Cisalpino–Goliardica, 1978.
- , *Chronique d'Égypte*, 53 (1978): 199–202, at 201–2. Review of Hans Quecke, *Das Lukasevangelium saïdisch*. Papyrologica Castrocaviana: Studia et Textus 6. Rome and Barcelona: Papyrologica Castrocaviana, 1977.
- CALLENDER, John, "Grammatical Models in Egyptology," *Orientalia*, 42 (1973): 47–77, at 69–72.
- ČERNÝ, Jaroslav, "On the Origin of the Late Egyptian Con-junctive," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 35 (1949): 25–30.
- DEPUYDT, Leo, "New Horizons in Coptic and Egyptian Linguistics," *Chronique d'Égypte*, 53 (1988): 391–406, at 397–401.
- EDWARDS, Iorwerth Eiddar Stephen, "A Rare Use of the Con-junctive," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*, 37 (1981) (*Festschrift for Labib Habachi*): 135–37.
- FRANSEN, Paul John, *An Outline of the Late Egyptian Verbal System*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1974, at 112–52 and 271–78.
- GARDINER, Alan H., "An Egyptian Split Infinitive and the Origin of the Egyptian Con-junctive Tense," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 14 (1928): 86–96.
- , "The Harem of Miwêr," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 12 (1953): 145–49, at 149 n. i.
- GROLL, Sarah Israelit, *The Negative Verbal System of Late Egyptian*. London and New York: Published for the Griffith Institute by Oxford University Press, 1970, at 171–77.

- HINTZE, Fritz, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache neuägyptischer Erzählungen*. 2 vols. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichungen 2, 6. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1950–52, at 264–74.
- JOHNSON, Janet H., *The Demotic Verbal System*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations 38. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1976, at 281–98.
- LICHTHEIM, Miriam, "Notes on the Late Egyptian Conjunctive." Pp. 1–8 in *Studies in Egyptology and Linguistics in Honour of H.J. Polotsky*. Ed. Haiim B. Rosén. Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society, 1964.
- MATTHA, Girgis, "The Egyptian Conjunctive," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale*, 45 (1947): 43–55.
- NIMS, Charles F., "Notes on University of Michigan Demotic Papyri from Philadelphia," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 24 (1938): 73–82, at 77–78.
- RAY, John D., "The Form *mtw.f r sdm* in Later Egyptian," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 59 (1973): 156–58.
- REVILLOUT, Eugène, "Mélanges d'épigraphie et de linguistique égyptienne," *Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne*, 5 (1874): 166–97, 6 (1874): 222–39, 8 (1875): 1–55; at 6 (1874): 222–39 and 8 (1875): 1–33.
- SAUNERON, Serge, "Quelques emplois particuliers du conjonctif," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale*, 61 (1962): 59–67.
- SHISHA-HALEVY, Ariel, *Coptic Grammatical Categories: Structural Studies in the Syntax of Shenoutean Sahidic*. Analecta Orientalia 53. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1986, at 185–214.
- VERGOTE, Jozef, "Essai de comparaison entre les systèmes de conjugaison égyptiens et copte — le conjonctif." Pp. 77–80 in *L'Égyptologie en 1979: Axes prioritaires de recherches*. Colloques internationaux du CNRS 595. Paris: CNRS, 1982.
- VOLTEN, Aksel, "The Late Egyptian Conjunctive." Pp. 54–80 in *Studies in Egyptology and Linguistics in Honour of H.J. Polotsky*. Ed. Haiim B. Rosén. Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society, 1964.
- WENTE, Edward F., "The Late Egyptian Conjunctive as a Past Continuative," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 21 (1969): 304–11.

II

Contiguity

If I'd hold you any closer, I'd be in back of you.
Groucho Marx, *A Day at the Races*

The Middle Egyptian construction consisting of a past substantial verb form A followed by a past adverbial verb form B literally means "It is after action B happened that action A happened." But a significant number of instances are peculiar in three respects.

1. The sequence of events obtained by the literal translation, "It is after B happened that A happened," is as puzzling as that of "It is after having put on my clothes that I took a shower."¹ This may be illustrated by an example, found

¹ This modern example is borrowed from Pascal VERNUS, "Formes 'emphatiques' en fonction non 'emphatique' dans la protase d'un système corrélatif," *Göttinger Miszellen*, 43 (1981): 73–88, at 84. VERNUS's observation that examples of this kind contradict certain aspects of the Standard Theory sparked an intense debate during the eighties (see n. 9). James Henry BREASTED already noted with regard to Example 2a, *rh.n wj js jw=f hn*, which literally means "It is after he had halted that (he?) recognized me," that "it is difficult to determine which is the temporal clause: 'he recognized me when he lighted [upon me], or 'when he recognized me, he stopped [before me]'" (*A New Chapter in the Life of Thutmose III*, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und

in the Story of Sinuhe at B 129: *ḥd.n t3 tnw ḵḵ.t(j)* "When it dawned Retenu came." Literally, this sentence is to be translated as "It is after Retenu had come that it dawned." From the context, it is obvious, however, that Retenu came at the beginning of a new day.

2. One might have expected to find the contents of the main sentence in the circumstantial clause and that of the circumstantial clause in the main sentence. The literal translation of the example quoted above from the Story of Sinuhe, namely "It is after Retenu had come that it dawned," implies that what is being discussed is the exact time of sunrise and that the answer to the question when it dawned is as follows: "after Retenu had arrived." It would be awkward, however, if the narrative were interrupted for a brief reflection on the exact time of dawn. Moreover, dawn is as a rule thought of as a fixed point in time in reference to which *other* events are situated in time. In conclusion, it seems obvious that sunrise is a circumstance of the principal event, that is, the arrival of Retenu, and not the other way around, as the literal translation suggests.

3. It was suggested in (2) above that the *subordinate role* of "after Retenu had come" in "It is after Retenu had come

Altertumskunde Ägyptens 2.2 [Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1900–1902], 15 n. 18).

Among the explanations suggested for the examples under discussion (see n. 9) are (1) that initial past verb forms may be adverbial (which is impossible according to the Standard Theory); (2) that an adverbial past verb form does not need to be anterior to what precedes due to a certain flexibility of Egyptian syntax (which is unsatisfactory since random exceptions threaten the usefulness of a firm grammatical rule); (3) that some examples are instances of the "Wechselsatz" (which is problematic because the "Wechselsatz" expresses a conditional relationship of the type "when[ever] X, then Y," rather than a narrative sequence of the type "no sooner X than Y"); (4) that the initial past verb form is substantival and in "anticipatory emphasis," in the sense of "as for the fact that . . ." (which is also problematic because, like the "Wechselsatz" (see [3]), this construction expresses a conditional relationship, not a narrative sequence of events).

that it dawned" makes the exact time of sunrise into a topic of discussion. What is more, the *contrastive emphasis* resting on "after Retenu had come" in "*It is after Retenu had come that it dawned* (and not at some other point in time)" even turns the moment of daybreak into a matter of dispute. The emphasis expresses either general contrast ("after Retenu had come," of all times) or specific contrast ("after Retenu had come," and not at some other point in time explicitly mentioned or implied in the context).

It should be noted that, in some examples of this type, it may be possible to find an explanation for one of the three features indicated above, if considered individually, but never for all three together.

It is argued here, then, that (1) the inverted sequence of events, (2) the switching of main event and circumstance, and (3) the contrastive emphasis—though difficult to justify if viewed individually—can be regarded as an idiom expressing *contiguity*.

Two events A and B can relate to one another in at least three ways. A and B can be *coincident* or simultaneous, or they can be *consecutive* or successive. In a third type, A and B are not quite coincident and not quite successive but *contiguous*, that is, they succeed one another so rapidly that they touch or overlap. An example of an English idiom expressing contiguity is as follows.

"He had *no sooner* arrived *than* he asked for food."
Italics added.

The sentence describes two events that follow one another in time, an arrival and a request for food. The two events are related to one another by the expression "no sooner . . . than . . ." This expression conveys that the request for food happened immediately after the arrival. In other words, the events are contiguous. If one analyzes the expression "no sooner . . . than . . ." with regard to its original—one

might say its etymological—meaning, it appears that the expression conveys—with some degree of hyperbole or exaggeration—that the arrival did *not* occur *sooner than* the request for food. That quickly did the two events follow one another that it seemed as if they happened at the same time. The literal meaning of the expression has become obscured over time, however, and it is now used as an idiom referring to events succeeding one other rapidly. Exaggeration as a means of referring to contiguity is even more striking in another expression exemplified in the following sentence.

“The stationmaster had *not* finished his speech *before* we were all hastening in the direction of the fire.”
Italics added.²

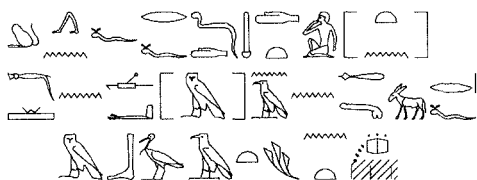
The literal meaning of this example can be clarified by adding a double negation.

*“The station-master had finished his speech *after* we were all hastening in the direction of the fire.”

From the context it is clear that the entire company left immediately after the stationmaster’s speech. However, the sentence, if taken quite literally, presents the events *in reverse order*. Apparently, this semantic procedure has been used to indicate that the end of the speech and the departure followed one another so swiftly that it seemed as if the second event happened before the first. This type of exaggeration characterizes many expressions found in most if not all languages, and the example at the head of this summary indicates that it not only applies to what is temporal but also to what is spatial.

With this in mind, the following Middle Egyptian example may be considered.

² Quoted from Arthur Conan DOYLE’s *The Adventure of the Engineer’s Thumb*.



*ph.n=f rf dd mdt [tn] mh.n w^c [m] n3 n '3 r=f m b3t nt
jtj (Eloquent Peasant [see n. 11 below], R 59–61)*

The translation of this passage anticipates my analysis.

“He had not finished this speech before one of the donkeys filled its mouth with a wisp of barley.” Or: “No sooner had he finished this speech than one of the donkeys filled its mouth with a wisp of barley.”

The sentence contains two past *sdm.n=f* forms, *ph.n=f* and *mh.n*. According to contemporary rules of syntactic analysis, the first past verb form is substantival because it stands at the beginning of the sentence. In Middle Egyptian, initial substantival verb forms as a rule lay emphasis on an adverbial element that follows. This adverbial element can only be the second past verb form, *mh.n*, which is therefore identified as adverbial. Both verb forms can therefore be defined on the basis of their syntactic position. As a result of the imperfect nature of the hieroglyphic script, the morphological distinction that must have existed between the substantival *sdm.n=f* form *ph.n=f* and the adverbial *sdm.n=f* form *mh.n* does not appear in the writing. In other examples of this same construction, the past verb forms can also be identified as substantival or adverbial on the basis of their morphology.

The literal translation of this sequence consisting of the past substantival verb form *ph.n=f* followed by the past adverbial verb form *mh.n* is as follows.

"That he finished this speech is after one of those donkeys had filled its mouth with a wisp of barley." Or: "It is after one of those donkeys had filled its mouth with a wisp of barley that he finished this speech."

From the context of the example, it appears that these literal translations present the sequence of events *in reverse order*. The accepted syntactic analysis of the passage therefore contradicts the desired meaning. In order to harmonize syntax with meaning, at least three explanations could be and have been offered for examples like this.

First, it has been assumed that the initial verb form is not substantival but adverbial and is therefore equivalent to a temporal clause in English. Consequently, the sentence would have to be translated as "When he had finished this speech, one of those donkeys had filled its mouth with a wisp of barley." Second, the examples like the one above have been interpreted as instances of the so-called *Wechselsatz*. The "*Wechselsatz*" is a nominal sentence construction of the type "A is/equals B," in which the two components equated with one another are substantival verb forms. The literal translation of the example would then be "'That he finished this speech' is (means) 'that one of those donkeys filled its mouth with a wisp of barley'." In a third alternative, the standard syntactic analysis is accepted but a certain looseness of Egyptian syntax is assumed with regard to the temporal relationship between the two verb forms, so that the second verb form does not have to be anterior to the first, as the standard analysis dictates.

The suggestion offered here, then, is semantic and has to be understood in light of the English idioms discussed above. It is suggested that, in Classical Egyptian, two events can be presented in reverse sequence in an idiom signifying that they followed one another instantaneously. This interpretation would make it possible to incorporate examples like that quoted above into the Standard Theory.

The suffix conjugation *sdm.n=f* will be repeatedly discussed in what follows. What the Standard Theory teaches about this verbal formation is accepted here (cf. Preface, at xi n. 2). In view of the important role the *sdm.n=f* will play, the assumptions of the theory are organized here as answers to two questions.³

1. *How many sdm.n=f forms are there in Middle Egyptian?* There are two, one nominal, the other adverbial (but see also n. 14 for possible vestigial independent uses of the latter verb form). The nominal *sdm.n=f* can be further subdivided into the substantival *sdm.n=f* (or "that"-form) and the adjectival *sdm.n=f* (or "relative" *sdm.n=f*). Presumably, the substantival and adjectival forms are morphologically the same form, but for the fact that the latter declines according to gender and number whereas the former does not (see below).

In all probability, the nominal *sdm.n=f* and the adverbial *sdm.n=f* were distinct in pronunciation—in other words, they were vocalized differently—but this cannot be proven as the difference does not show in hieroglyphic writing.⁴ This assumption is inferred by analogy from the morphological difference between nominal and adverbial forms that can be observed in other parts of the verbal system, for instance in the aorist between nominal *mrr=f* "that he loves" and adverbial *mr=f* "he loving" or "while he loves."

The theory also assumes, on the basis of different analogies, that the substantival *sdm.n=f* and adjectival *sdm.n=f* were *not* distinct in pronunciation. Likewise, forms

³ These tenets have found widespread acceptance. Recently, for instance, they have served as the organizing principle of Éric DORET's *The Narrative Verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian*, Cahiers d'Orientalisme 12 (Geneva: Patrick Cramer, 1986). By and large, this work also reflects the views of the Chicago Oriental Institute School of Egyptology. But cf. also n. 14.

⁴ Cf. Hans Jacob POLOTSKY, "Randbemerkungen," *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens* (Festschrift for Wolfhart Westendorf) (Göttingen, 1984), vol. 1, 113–23, at 116–17.

such as Late Egyptian *j.jr=f sdm* and Coptic *nta=f-sōtm* are both substantival and adjectival. The difference, then, between substantival and adjectival *sdm.n=f* in Middle Egyptian is that the adjectival form declines according to gender and number (*sdm.n=f*, *sdmt.n=f*, *sdm(w.)n=f*), whereas the substantival form does not.

2. *How can one determine that a certain sdm.n=f form in a text is nominal or adverbial?* Three types of evidence may be considered: morphological, semantic, and syntactic.

a. As indicated above, the best kind of evidence, that is, the *morphological* kind, is wanting for the active form. The passive *sdm.n.tw.f* is always nominal, more specifically, substantival.

b. An item of firm *semantic* evidence is that the *sdm.n=f* of verbs of motion is always nominal. The *sdm.n=f* of many other intransitive verbs is also exclusively nominal.

c. For transitive verbs and certain intransitive verbs, the evidence is rather scanty. However, there is no reason to abandon, for the time being, the rule that a *sdm.n.f* form standing at the head of a sentence is nominal. If it can be established that a certain *sdm.n=f* is initial, then it must be nominal.

One conclusion that can be drawn from the above is that there is no such thing as a string of independent *sdm.n=f* forms. For each *sdm.n=f* form encountered in a text, it must be decided whether it is either nominal or adverbial. There are no other options.

INTRODUCTION: THE NOTION OF "CONTIGUITY"

1 Two events A and B can relate to one another in at least three ways. First, A and B can be *coincident* (Figure 1).

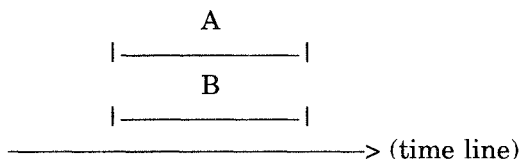


Figure 1.
Coincident Events.

Second, A and B can be *consecutive* (Figure 2).

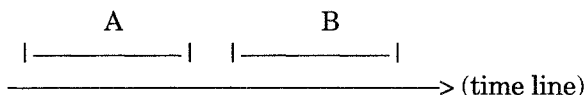


Figure 2.
Successive Events.

These two types of relationships between events are well known. Grammars and dictionaries record the various ways in which they are expressed.

There is a third type, however, which is not quite coincident and not quite successive. In it, two events A and B succeed one another so rapidly that they seem to touch or overlap (Figure 3).

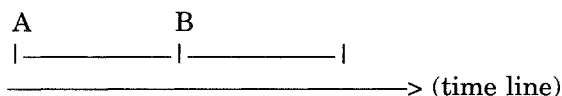
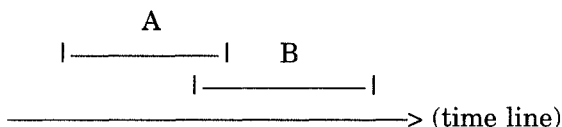
Events A and B touch*Events A and B overlap*

Figure 3.
Contiguous Events.

The distinction between touching and overlapping is irrelevant. It is the "gray area" at the end of A and the beginning of B that characterizes the type. To indicate such a relationship between events, the term *contiguity* may be used. Events that touch or overlap may hence be called *contiguous* events.⁵

2 Although the aim of the present paper is not to study the expression of contiguity as a language universal, parallels drawn from modern languages may be helpful in understanding the phenomenon and offer material for comparison with Egyptian. Some expressions referring to contiguous events are in fact quite colorful.

In one typical locution, shared by many languages, the actor of an action A is said to experience difficulty in finishing

⁵ Bertrand RUSSELL has used the term "contiguous" in the meaning intended here in his *The Analysis of Mind* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., and New York: The MacMillan Company, 1921), 94. In speaking about cause and effect, RUSSELL states that "if [one] event is to cause another event, the two will have to be contiguous in time; for if there is *any interval* between them, something may happen during that interval to prevent the expected effect" (*italics added*).

A before B begins because the transition from A to B is so immediate. English uses "hardly," originally a synonym of "with difficulty," in sentences such as "Hardly had John arrived when he asked for food." In this sentence, John is described as arriving hardly, that is, as having difficulty completing his arrival before making his request for food. Speakers of English are no longer conscious of the literal meaning of "hardly . . . when. . . ." The expression has become an idiom signifying contiguous events. Parallels of English "hardly" are French *à peine* and German *kaum*, both originally synonyms of "with toil."

Another expression of contiguity is of particular interest here. It is found in the sentence "He had *no sooner* arrived *than* he asked for food." In origin, this statement indicated, with some degree of hyperbole or exaggeration, that the arrival did *not* occur *sooner than* the request for food: that quickly, indeed, did one event follow the other.⁶

3 Taken at face value, the English idiom "no sooner . . . than . . ." implies "at the same time or later than."⁷ In fact, "later than" can also be inferred from the original meaning of the Arabic idiom *mā in . . . ḥattā. . .*⁸ An example is *mā in waṣalnā ilā r-rif ḥattā bada'a l-maṭaru* "No sooner did we reach the countryside than it began to rain." Literally, the sentence is to be translated as "We did not reach the country-

⁶ On "hardly . . . when . . ." and "no sooner . . . than . . .," see, for instance, Randolph QUIRK and others, *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (New York and London: Longman, 1985), 999–1001 § 14.13.

⁷ "Later" may have some basis in reality: for instance, in "He had no sooner arrived than he asked for food," at least part of the arrival, that is, the final episode, can be regarded as having taken place *after* the asking had already begun.

⁸ *Mā* and *in* are two negations corroborating one another. For *mā in*, see Hans WEHR, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ed. J. Milton COWAN (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1979), 1042. Earlier editions of this dictionary erroneously list *mā an*.

side until it began to rain." This literal translation makes it seem as if it rained before the countryside was reached.

As with "no sooner . . . than. . .," the original meaning of *mā in . . . ḥattā . . .* has obscured over time, but the expression has persisted as an idiom referring to contiguous events.⁹

⁹ In medieval Arabic, *mā . . . ḥattā . . .* is more common than *mā in . . . ḥattā . . .* An example is as follows: *mā ḍaḥaknā lil-qurbi ḥattā bakaynā lil-bi'ādi* "No sooner did we smile for being close than we wept for being far" (Ṣafadī, *Ġayt*, I, 172,11). I owe this observation and the example to Manfred ULLMANN of Tübingen (letter of 31 August 1991).

CONTIGUITY IN *SINUHE* B 200

4 In the previous section, it was suggested that Arabic *mā in . . . ḥattā . . .* corresponds in meaning to English “no sooner . . . than. . . .” In turn, Arabic *mā in . . . ḥattā. . .*, in presenting events in reverse order, bears striking resemblance to an Egyptian idiom expressing that two events A and B are contiguous—that is, follow one another in quick succession—by *emphasizing*, with some degree of hyperbole, that A happened *after* B. A literal translation of the Egyptian equivalent of “He had no sooner arrived than he asked for food” would be “It is after having asked for food that he arrived”; or even more literal, “that he arrived is while (already) having asked for food.” A more temperate way of expressing contiguity is “When he arrived, he asked for food” (see § 11).

5 The mechanics of this idiom are perhaps best explained by an example. It is appropriate that this example should be a passage that prompted, four decades ago, the questions dealt with here, namely *Sinuhe* B 200.¹⁰

¹⁰ H.J. POLOTSKY has noted with regard to *Sinuhe* B 200 that “a possible solution [for interpreting the example as a sequence of substantial *sd.n.tw=f* and adverbial *dj.n=j*] would be afforded if Middle Egyptian could be shown to have used the pattern ‘emphatic’ *sdm.n=f* plus circumstantial *sdm.n=f* somewhat in the manner of the ‘*cum inversum*’ of Latin and of the corresponding constructions of modern European languages [This Latin construction is discussed in n. 26 below]. Middle Egyptian evidence, if it exists, will be difficult to recognize” (“The ‘Emphatic’ *sdm.n=f* Form,” *Revue d’Égyptologie*, 11 [1957]: 109–17, at 114–15 = Idem, *Collected Papers* [Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1971], 43–51, at 48–49). POLOTSKY returns to related problems in his “Ägyptische Verbalformen und ihre Vokalisation,” *Orientalia*, 33 (1964): 267–85, at 277 n. 1 = Idem, *Collected Papers*, 52–70, at 62 n. 1, and

Example 1



šd.n.t(w)=f n=j d.j.n=j wj hr ht=j “No sooner had it been read to me than I threw myself on my belly.”

(*Sinuhe*,¹¹ B 200)

in his “Egyptian Tenses,” in *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* II.5 (Jerusalem: At the Central Press, 1965), 8–9 n. 19, 10 § 21 end = Idem, *Collected Papers*, 71–96, at 78–79 n. 19, 80 § 21 end. As the present essay was nearing completion, I noted that Mordechai GILULA mentions, in a discussion of Example 2a, that POLOTSKY would “often speak about [the ‘no sooner . . . than . . .’] construction in his lectures, giving the construction this name” (*Milliyyōt Enqlīṭiyyōt be-Miṣrūt Qlāssīt* (“Enclitic Particles in Classical Egyptian”) [unpublished doctoral dissertation submitted to the Senate of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1968], *Notes* 55 n. 13); cf. also GILULA, “Shipwrecked Sailor, Lines 184–85,” in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 39 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1976), 75–82, at 77–80.

For other, more recent, thoughtful discussions, see VERNUS, "Formes 'emphatiques'" [see n. 1]; Friedrich JUNGE, *"Emphasis" and Sentential Meaning in Middle Egyptian*, Göttinger Orientforschungen IV.20 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1989), 16–18 and *passim*; Wolfgang SCHENKEL, "Aktuelle Perspektiven der ägyptischen Grammatik," *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 45 (1988): 276–84; Idem, *Einführung in die altägyptische Sprachwissenschaft* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990), 178; Erhart GRAEFE, *Mittel-ägyptische Grammatik für Anfänger* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1988²), 97–99.

Many of the examples quoted in the works cited are also discussed below, though the explanation offered may differ. To discuss all divergences would be cumbersome. Much can be explained by the adherence of the present essay to the following tenets, most of them part of the Standard Theory: (1) a *sqm.n=f* form must be either nominal or adverbial; (2) an initial *sqm.n=f* cannot be adverbial; (3) an adverbial *sqm.n=f* is subordinate to what precedes in the sentence and expresses relative past tense, that is, refers to an action anterior to the event to which it is subordinated; (4) the “Wechselsatz” and the substantival verb form in “anticipatory emphasis” (see n. 39) are incompatible with a narrative sequence of events.

¹¹ I have used Aylward M. BLACKMAN, *Middle-Egyptian Stories*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 2 (Brussels: Egyptologische Stichting Koningin Elizabeth, 1932). See now Roland KOCH, *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 17 (Brussels: Egyptologische Stichting Koningin Elizabeth, 1990).

The form $\check{s}d.n.tw=f$ is an instance of the $\check{s}dm.n.tw=f$, which is by definition substantival. Because of its initial position in the sentence, the form $\check{s}d.n.tw=f$ must emphasize an adverbial element. Since $n=j$ "to me" is an unlikely candidate—"It is to me that it was read" seems less meaningful—the emphasized element must be $dj.n=j$, and $dj.n=j$ is hence an adverbial verb form. Before proceeding with the discussion of *Sinuhe B 200* in § 7, it is necessary to devote a brief historical remark to adverbial verb forms in general.

6 The $\check{s}dm=f$ form that is marked by absence of gemination in the third weak verbs ($mr=f$) and the $\check{s}dm.n=f$ form corresponding to the stative of verbs of motion are mostly adverbial in function in Middle Egyptian. But it is probable that these same forms once had independent function, that is, were able to function as the verb form of an independent sentence. In other words, although the form of these verb forms did not change, their function evolved from independence to subordination.

This assumption derives some support from the fact that a similar evolution of verb forms from independent to dependent function is found in languages such as Arabic.¹² But above all, it is corroborated by the fact that the same development occurred again, somewhat later in the history of the Egyptian language, with regard to the auxiliary morpheme *ju*. Originally a firm indicator of independent verb forms, *ju* gradually evolved into a marker of subordination. By Late Egyptian, *ju* was almost exclusively used as a marker of circumstantial clauses. Egyptian therefore evolved in such a way that, remarkably, in Middle Egyptian, one often needs to *subtract* *ju* to convert an independent verb form into a dependent one, whereas, in Late Egyptian, one needs to *add* it. The reason is that *ju* came into the language to assert

¹² POLOTSKY, "Egyptian Tenses" [see n. 10], 24–25 § 50 = Idem, *Collected Papers* [see n. 10], 94–95.

independence but later underwent the same fate as independent $\underline{sdm}=f$ ($mr=f$) and $\underline{sdm}.n=f$.

Since the evolution just described must have been gradual, independent and subordinate uses can be expected to have been used side by side in the transitional phases. Indeed, there is no doubt that independent and subordinate uses of *jw* coexist in Middle Egyptian.¹³ As regards Middle Egyptian $\underline{sdm}.n=f$ and $\underline{sdm}=f$ ($mr=f$), it is difficult to estimate to what extent the independent use has survived alongside the adverbial use, but it seems to have been vestigial.¹⁴

¹³ Cf. POLOTSKY, "Egyptian Tenses" [see n. 10], 21 n. 54 = Idem, *Collected Papers* [see n. 10], 91 n. 54.

¹⁴ Cf. POLOTSKY, "Egyptian Tenses" [see n. 10], 24 n. 61 = Idem, *Collected Papers* [see n. 10], 94 n. 61.

In a recent study, adverbial verb forms are redefined as "verbal verb forms" (Mark COLLIER, "The Circumstantial $\underline{sdm}(f)/\underline{sdm}.n(f)$ as Verbal Verb-forms in Middle Egyptian," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 76 [1990]: 73–85). My own approach to problems regarding the adverbial $\underline{sdm}=f$ ($mr=f$) and $\underline{sdm}.n=f$ would differ, however.

Again, as just explained, I would prefer to view adverbial $\underline{sdm}=f$ ($mr=f$) and $\underline{sdm}.n=f$ —along the lines of the Standard Theory—in light of what happened to the particle *jw* somewhat later in the history of the Egyptian language.

The forms $\underline{sdm}=f$ ($mr=f$)/ $\underline{sdm}.n=f$ have in common with *jw* that they shifted from independent function to dependent or adverbial function.

Battiscombe GUNN already noted that "it is convenient, if not necessarily historically correct, to regard many kinds of Eg[yp]tia[n] adverbial clauses as being secondary uses of independent sentences" (*Studies in Egyptian Syntax* [Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1924], 152).

For *jw*, this evolution from independence to subordination can be followed clearly from Middle Egyptian to Late Egyptian. In early Middle Egyptian, *jw* is mostly independent but, by Late Egyptian, it has acquired dependent function, the "third future" $jw=f r \underline{sdm}$ being an exception.

For $\underline{sdm}=f$ ($mr=f$)/ $\underline{sdm}.n=f$, this evolution is less tangible. These forms are very often dependent in Middle Egyptian. Instances in which they are independent might be interpreted as vestiges of the way things once were. Perhaps such instances may be found after *mk*, unless *mk* functions like *jw*, heading adverbial verb forms (POLOTSKY, "Egyptian Tenses" [see n. 10], 21 § 43 = Idem, *Collected Papers* [see n. 10], 91 § 430).

If the analogy suggested above is correct, then questions asked about *jw* also apply to $\underline{sdm}=f$ ($mr=f$)/ $\underline{sdm}.n=f$. Just as the philologist tries to deter-

How was the ancient speaker able to distinguish between independent and dependent *jw*? The modern French speaker distinguishes between *un* "one" and *un* "a" on the basis of the context. Moreover, *un homme* "a man" and *un homme* "one man" seem to be pronounced differently. Along the same lines, it is plausible that Middle Egyptian *jw*, when subordinated to a preceding sentence, was pronounced together with it. On the other hand, it is also reasonable to assume that *jw*, when heading an independent sentence, was preceded by a short pause or some other prosodic feature marking the beginning of new sentences. But the two uses of *jw* are not distinguished in writing.

7 The form *dj.n=j* in *Sinuhe* B 200 has been identified in § 5 as an adverbial verb form on the basis of its syntactic position. However, there is also some morphological support for this identification. In texts that distinguish between *rdj.n=f* and *dj.n=f*, the form *rdj.n=f* is initial and substantival whereas *dj.n=f* is adverbial.¹⁵

It is not certain to what extent there is a functional distinction between the forms *rdj.n=f* and *dj.n=f* in the surviving texts of the Story of *Sinuhe*. Any comprehensive statement regarding this matter presupposes that the interpretation of each individual occurrence of *rdj.n=f* and *dj.n=f* in these texts is certain. This is not the case. Yet the following remarks can be made regarding the occurrence of *rdj.n=f* and *dj.n=f* in the Story of *Sinuhe*.

mine when *jw* is adverbial and when it is independent, it is justified to inquire when *sdm=f* (*mr=f*)/*sdm.n=f* are independent sentences and when they are subordinate. The same question applies to, for example, *n sdm.n=f* which, depending on the context, means either "He does not hear" or "he not hearing."

According to the Standard Theory, *sdm=f* (*mr=f*) and *sdm.n=f* are called "adverbial verb forms" because, in most instances, they have adverbial function.

¹⁵ H.J. POLOTSKY, "Les transpositions du verbe en égyptien classique," *Israel Oriental Studies*, 6 (1976): 1-50, at 23, 23 n. 40.

First, all instances of *dj.n=f* allow an interpretation as adverbial forms. Second, the different manuscripts and ostraca are almost always in agreement regarding the choice between *rdj.n=f* and *dj.n=f*; this suggests that the scribes were conscious of the distinction and that the alternation between the two forms is meaningful.¹⁶ Third, *rdj.n=f* is found after the negation *n* at *Sinuhe* B 58 = R 83; it is generally assumed that, because the *sdm.n.f* of verbs of motion appears after *n*, the *sdm.n.f* in this position is substantival.¹⁷ Fourth, affirmative *rdj.n=f* is always initial, with one remarkable exception at *Sinuhe* B 26–27 (R 51), where *rdj.n=f* follows the auxiliary *ḥ^c.n*. After *ḥ^c.n* one expects adverbial forms such as *dj.n=j* according to the Standard Theory. However, this is not the

¹⁶ The *sdm.n=f* of *rdj* “give” occurs seventeen times in two of the three principal witnesses of the Story of *Sinuhe*, *pBerlin*, 3022 (“B”) and *pBerlin*, 10499 (“R”) (ed. BLACKMAN [see n. 11]). B and R agree on the absence and presence of *r* in all six instances in which both versions are preserved. In the third witness, the Ashmolean Ostrakon (“AO”), edited by John W.B. BARNES, *The Ashmolean Ostrakon of Sinuhe* (Oxford: The Griffith Institute, The Ashmolean Museum, 1952)—for all three witnesses, see now KOCH, *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe* [see n. 11]—twelve of the seventeen instances just mentioned have survived. All but two agree with B and R. The two exceptions are B 201 = AO verso 19 and B 231 = AO verso 34: B has *dj.n=j*; the Ostrakon, *rdj.n=j*. Yet at B 231 *dj.n=j* is preceded by a sentence on which it could depend; the absence of this sentence in AO 34 could then account for initial *rdj.n=j*. At B 201 = AO verso 19, a different interpretation of sentence and clause division by the ancient scribe might have played a role.

A list of the occurrences, catalogued with reference to B, is as follows: *rdj.n=f* occurs 9 times, namely at B 27 = R 51 = AO recto 19, B 28 = R 52 = AO recto 20, B 58 = R 83 = AO recto 30, B 78 = AO recto 36 (R *in lacuna*), B 79 (R and AO *in lacuna*), B 96 = AO recto 40 (R *in lacuna*), B 136 = R 161 (fragmentary) = AO recto 52, B 141 = R 168 (fragmentary) = AO recto 54, B 143 = R 169 = AO recto 55; *dj.n=f* is found 7 or 8 times, namely at B 128 (R and AO *in lacuna*), R 156 (B and AO *in lacuna*), B 140 (R and AO *in lacuna*), AO recto 54 = R 167 *dj.n=j?* (B 140 *wd.n=j*), B 200 = AO verso 19 (R wanting from here onward), B 201 *but* AO verso 19 *rdj.n=j*, B 231 *but* AO verso 34 *rdj.n=j*, and B 294 (AO *in lacuna*).

¹⁷ POLOTSKY, “The ‘Emphatic’ *sdm.n.f* Form” [n. 10], 115 bottom, 116 = *Idem*, *Collected Papers* [see n. 10], 49 bottom, 50.

only occurrence of $^c h^c.n$ $rdj.n=f$ in otherwise good texts;¹⁸ a different explanation may therefore be required when the $sdm.n=f$ of rdj follows $^c h^c.n$.

8 Accordingly, the evidence suggests that *Sinuhe* B 200 is an instance of the construction consisting of a substantival verb form followed by an adverbial verb form, a construction that occupies a central place in the Standard Theory. The $sdm.n=f$ forms at *Sinuhe* B 201, $dmj.n=j$, $dj.n=j$, and $dbn.n=j$, are perhaps also adverbial forms, parallel to $dj.n=j$.¹⁹

It is assumed here regarding Example 1 in § 5 that *Sinuhe*'s throwing himself on the ground is a reaction of joy to the contents of the letter read to him. This interpretation receives support from the fact that the text continues with other expressions of joy: the following sentences describe how *Sinuhe* touches the soil, spreads it on his chest, and goes about the camp shouting. Three observations can be made regarding this interpretation.

First, a literal translation reverses the sequence of events. As an adverbial $sdm.n=f$, $dj.n=j$ expresses relative past tense.²⁰ The passage is therefore to be translated literally as "It is after I had thrown myself on my belly that it was read to me."²¹

¹⁸ See British Museum 614,6, discussed by POLOTSKY, "Les transpositions du verbe" [see n. 15], 23, 23 n. 40. Another example is *pWestcar* 6,8-9; for editions of this text, see Part III n. 51.

¹⁹ Or $dmj.n=j$ is substantival and $dj.n=j$ adverbial and the two verb forms together express contiguity: "As soon as I hit the soil, I spread it on my chest" (cf. § 35).

²⁰ For relative tense, see the Preface, viii-ix; SCHENKEL, "Aktuelle Perspektiven" [see n. 10], 278.

²¹ An example of the same construction in which the literal translation presents the events in proper order is as follows.



$qd.n=f$ nn $rh.n=f$ $qd=j$ "He said this because he had come to know my character." (*Sinuhe* [see n. 11], B 32 = R 56)

Second, the contrastive emphasis is out of place. The emphasis on "after I had thrown myself on my belly" in "*It is after I had thrown myself on my belly that it was read to me*" implies "and not at some other time or for some other reason" or, more generally, "at that moment, of all times." However, the circumstances in which the letter is read to Sinuhe are not a point of dispute eliciting contrasting opinions.

Third, Sinuhe's throwing himself on his belly is made into one of the circumstances in which the message was read. However, the relationship between the two events seems to be rather the opposite: Sinuhe threw himself on his belly, and this occurred when the message had been read to him.

It might be assumed, however, as an alternative interpretation, that Sinuhe, when he saw the royal messenger arriving, threw himself on his belly out of respect and that the message was read to him only then. This would account for the sequence of events in the literal translation "It is after I had thrown myself on my belly that it was read to me." The contrastive emphasis and the subordination of Sinuhe's throwing himself on the ground to the reading of the message could then be accounted for as follows. Since substantival verb forms can stress concomitant circumstances of the actions to which they refer, *šd.n.tw=f* would emphasize that Sinuhe was in prostrate position during the reading of the letter, as opposed to standing upright. But if this were the case, one might have expected a stative such as **rdj.kw* ("It was read to me while I was placed on my belly") or an equivalent of "while I was on my belly." As it stands, *dj.n=j* refers to a *process* rather than to a *state* and the sentence emphasizes the fact that the reading happened *after* or *because* Sinuhe had thrown himself to the ground.

Another instance is the well-known formula of "Passing from Life to Death," in which the deceased states that he has "left his house" (*pr.n=j m pr=j*) or "descended into his tomb" (*h3.n=j m js=j*) *after* having performed various good deeds referred to by adverbial *šqm.n=f* forms.

9 Taken separately, the following features are awkward in Example 1: (1) the inverted sequence of the events, (2) the contrastive emphasis, and (3) the inverse relation between main event and circumstance. Taken together, however, they emerge as three components of an expression of contiguity.

1. From the context,²² it is clear that Sinuhe threw himself on his belly after the message was read to him, but the text presents the events in reverse order. Like the Arabic idiom discussed in § 3, this is a device of hyperbole expressing that the two events succeeded one another very rapidly by stating in exaggerated fashion that the second event happened before the first.²³

2. But the hyperbole intended by presenting the events in reverse order cannot be effective if the unexpected order of events is not acknowledged in some way. By itself, the anteriority expressed by adverbial $dj.n=j$ would state dryly and matter-of-factly that the message was read to Sinuhe *after* he had thrown himself on his belly. To convey in a plain statement of fact that "It was read to me after I had thrown myself on my belly" is nothing short of stating a falsehood.

For the purpose of making explicit that the distortion of the true order of events is only a means of exaggeration, contrastive emphasis is used. One of the functions of contrastive emphasis is to stress an unexpected option, something that is different from what one might have expected. The expected

²² In general, to reject the context as a criterion would be "to impute to the Egyptians a somewhat improbable indifference to the natural sequence of events" (POLOTSKY, "Egyptian Tenses" [see n. 10], 6 § 13 = Idem, *Collected Papers* [see n. 10], 76). It is the context that must have allowed the Egyptians to distinguish between examples in which the anteriority expressed by the construction under discussion is real and those in which anteriority is just a means of exaggeration expressing contiguity.

²³ This hyperbole may have some basis in reality since, in events that overlap at the extremities, the end of the first action occurs after the second has already begun (cf. n. 6).

option may be made explicit, as in "For it was by Lewis, *and not by William*, that the partition had been originally suggested."²⁴ This is the function of contrastive emphasis in "*It is* after I had thrown myself on my belly *that* it was read to me." It indicates that "after I had thrown myself on my belly" is unexpected since the true course events is that the message was read to Sinuhe *before* he had thrown himself on his belly.²⁵

In fact, from any other point of view, contrastive emphasis is out of place. The polemical context and the need to define something precisely at the exclusion of other things, which trigger the use of constructions expressing emphasis, are wanting.

3. Part of the mechanics of the idiom is that the second event, the main one, Sinuhe's throwing himself on his belly, has to be made into a circumstance so that it might be emphasized.

In conclusion, the reading of the message and Sinuhe's throwing himself on his belly are events in a narrative chain. The only thing special about their relationship is that they succeed each other rapidly: Sinuhe need not think twice before expressing his emotion when hearing the message. For this reason, (1) inverting the order of events, (2) laying contrastive emphasis on the second event, and (3) subordinating the second event to the first are combined to convey the impression of contiguity between the events. The three features have no other obvious reason for being there.²⁶ But it is crucial to note

²⁴ This example is cited by H.J. POLOTSKY, *Études de syntaxe copte* (Cairo: Société d'Archéologie copte, 1944), 62 = Idem, *Collected Papers* [see n. 10], 166.

²⁵ A literal translation reflecting the syntax of the Egyptian sentence would be "That it was read to me was while I had (already) thrown myself on my belly."

²⁶ The same analysis can probably be applied to the Latin '*cum inversum*.' According to Henry John ROBY, *A Grammar of the Latin Language*

that the Egyptian speaker was probably as unaware of the literal meaning of the construction as the English speaker is of that of "no sooner . . . than. . ."

from *Plautus to Suetonius: Part II* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1875²), § 1733 (cited by POLOTSKY, "The Emphatic *sdm.n.f* Form" [see n. 10], 115 n. 1 = *Collected Papers* [see n. 10], 49 n. 1), the function of 'cum inversum' is as follows: "The coincidence in time is sometimes vividly expressed by an inversion; what would otherwise have been the temporal clause being put first as an independent sentence . . . and what would have been the principal sentence being subjoined with *cum* . . ." One of his examples is the following: *Hannibal . . . subibat muros, cum repente in eum . . . patefacta porta erumpunt Romani* "Hannibal was walking under the walls, when the Romans suddenly rushed out toward him through the opened gate" (Livy 29,7,8).

It is possible to recognize the three features mentioned with regard to *Sinuhe B 200* in this sentence.

1. As ROBY points out, the circumstance is made into the main event.
2. From the unusual position of *cum*, it can probably be inferred that the clause headed by *cum* is emphasized: *subibat* would probably correspond to a substantival form in Egyptian. (Note that Coptic second tenses are used very often when, in the Greek original, an adverbial phrase is placed at the head of the sentence instead of at the tail.)
3. The clause *cum erumpunt* is not presented as anterior to *subibat* but at least as simultaneous. Simultaneity, as a milder form of hyperbole than anteriority, can also be used to express contiguity (see chapter 10 below).

CONTRASTIVE EMPHASIS AND CONTIGUITY

10 The use of contrastive emphasis for referring to contiguous events is not unique to the construction described above. It also features in another idiom in which a substantival form of the aorist emphasizes adverbial phrases consisting of the preposition *r* with infinitive, as in the following example.²⁷



psd hrw r w3 ntr m wryt "As soon as daylight comes,
the god removes himself from the hall."

(*Coffin Texts*,²⁸ I 252e B10C^c)

The literal translation of this passage, "It is for the removal of the god that it shines," makes it seem as if, rather awkwardly, the sun shines for a specific purpose. But in fact, we are confronted here with an idiom that expresses that the god disappears so instantly after daybreak that it looks as if it had dawned especially for that purpose. The purpose itself is

²⁷ "*r* + infinitif . . . exprime la consécution immédiate entre deux procès, la réalisation du premier étant envisagée essentiellement en ce qu'il entraîne la réalisation du second" (Pascal VERNUS, "Études de philologie et de linguistique (III)," *Revue d'Égyptologie*, 35 [1984]: 159–88, at 186).

²⁸ Adriaan DE BUCK, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 34, 49, 64, 67, 73, 81, 87 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1935–61).

TRANSLATING CONTIGUOUS EVENTS

11 Contiguous events can be rendered in different ways in English.³² Possible translations of Example 1 cited in § 5 above are as follows.³³

1. "No sooner had it been read to me than I threw myself on my belly."
2. "Hardly had it been read to me when I threw myself on my belly."
3. "As soon as it was read to me I threw myself on my belly."
4. "When it was read to me I threw myself on my belly."³⁴

³² The English construction that yields the best literal translation of the Egyptian original and is typologically perhaps its closest relative is not idiomatic English in the present instance: *"It was being read to me *when* (suddenly) I threw myself on my belly." In this idiom, as in its Egyptian counterpart, the second clause is subordinate to the first and the unusual position of the "when"-clause at the end of the sentence suggests that it is emphasized (cf. *cum* 'inversum' discussed in n. 26). In other instances, the English idiom quite felicitously expresses contiguity: see, for instance, the translation of Example 15 below and the example "It was ten o'clock when he woke up" cited in *Oxford English Dictionary*², vol. 20,209.

³³ Such translations have been used on occasion intuitively to render examples discussed here. For example, German *kaum* . . . , *da* . . . is considered "angebracht" as a translational equivalent by SCHENKEL (*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 45 [see n. 10], 282).

³⁴ The translation device recommended by POLOTSKY, "to make a subordinate clause of the initial verb-form and to turn the clauses of circumstance into main sentences" ("Egyptian Tenses" [see n. 10], 8-9 § 18 = *Idem*, *Collected Papers* [see n. 10], 78-79), is only appropriate for the construction consisting of a past substantival verb form followed by a past adverbial verb

The present paper does not aim to discuss the subtle differences that no doubt exist among these four alternatives. Since it is impossible to determine the degree of vividness expressed by the Egyptian original, Egyptian being a dead language, the translator will have to choose for each example the English alternative that seems stylistically most suitable, at the risk of not conveying the proper degree of forcefulness. In the translations of the examples below, subjective choices have been made among those four alternatives.

It is to be noted that the fourth alternative, in spite of being the least spirited, expresses contiguity. Compared with "after it had been read to me," the clause "when it was read to me" expresses simultaneity with the main sentence: simultaneity, instead of anteriority, is a milder form of hyperbole to refer to two events that actually succeed one another rapidly (see chapter 10 below).

Expressions of contiguity are not uncommon in English. Nor are they in Egyptian, to judge from the certain and possible examples listed below. This confirms that languages share most functions, though the outward form of those expressions may be startlingly different. Examples of English "when" plus simple past are as follows.³⁵

When I heard they outlawed Communism, I felt like a man freed from jail. // When he was asked to appear before the grand jury, the prosecutor's office . . . specifi-

form if anteriority is a means of hyperbole referring to contiguous events. Instances such as "He said this because he had come to know my character" (see n. 21) cannot be converted into "When he said this, he came to know my character," unless one uses a pluperfect: "When he said this, he had come to know my character." Of the two translations of *Naga-ed-Dêr*, 37,5 given in DORET, *The Narrative Verbal System* [see n. 3], at 153 top and 169 I.1. end, "When I came from my house. . . , I acted satisfactorily" and "It is (only after) having acted satisfactorily . . . that I came forth from my house," only the second is correct.

³⁵ These examples are quoted from *The New York Times* of 31 August 1991, 1, 5, 7, and 8.

cally notified N that his appearance was merely as a witness. // When an American visitor drove in from Lithuania, taking advantage of the current low level of border vigilance, N . . . phoned three secret police officials in succession, in the visitor's presence, to ask how to handle his unauthorized guest. When N's K.G.B. contact told him that they did not know what to do about the guest, N phoned a police official.

MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTIC CRITERIA

12 Choice instances of the construction discussed above ought to conform to six criteria.

Syntax and Morphology

1. The first or initial verb form and those parallel to it are unambiguously past and substantival, as demonstrated by their morphology³⁶ or their syntactic position.³⁷
2. The second verb form and those parallel to it are unambiguously past and adverbial, as demonstrated by their morphology³⁸ or their syntax.³⁹

Contents (cf. § 8 above)

3. The literal translation gives the sequence of the events in reverse order.
4. The contrastive emphasis is out of place.
5. The main event is syntactically subordinated in a circumstantial clause.
6. The context allows an interpretation of the events as occurring in rapid succession.

³⁶ For instance, the *sdm.n=f* of verbs of motion and the passive *sdm.n.tw=f*.

³⁷ For instance, the *sdm.n=f* of transitive verbs when it is initial.

³⁸ For instance, "bare" statives, that is, statives not preceded by auxiliaries.

³⁹ An example is the *sdm.n=f* of a transitive verb following a substantival form, which does not emphasize an adverb or a prepositional phrase: the *sdm.n=f* form is the only candidate for emphasis.

13 All the examples that will be discussed below comply with the last four criteria listed in § 12. In fact, many of these examples have been singled out in previous studies for their unusual features, especially the reverse order of the events.

However, the last four criteria are based on an interpretation of the text and are hence in need of corroboration by the first two criteria. With regard to these criteria, three types of examples, each consisting of sequences of a past substantival verb form followed by a past adverbial verb form, can be distinguished.

a. In the first group of examples, the morphology of *both* the first and the second verb form is unambiguous. In special cases, it may occur that other verb forms are parallel to either the first or the second verb form, and that only one of these is morphologically unambiguous.

Examples 2 and 24 from Middle Egyptian and Example 9 from late Middle Egyptian belong to this group. Example 13 from Middle Egyptian is also to be classified here according to one of two interpretations of the meaning of the text considered possible here (§ 22).

Examples 1, 2a, and 24 may be associated secondarily with this group, though they might also have been classified separately. They have in common that the second verb form is probably not substantival. In Examples 2a and 24, the second verb form, *jw* followed by the stative, could be either independent or adverbial. In Example 1, the absence of *r* in the second verb form *dj.n=j* may indicate that *dj.n=j* is adverbial (§ 7).

Possible parallels from Late Egyptian are Examples 14a and 14b: these examples are adduced here because the Late Egyptian verbal system is morphologically more transparent than that of Middle Egyptian, fewer distinctions being made by vowel alternation only.

b. A second group of examples is marked by the following characteristics.

- The first past verb form is unequivocally substantival.
- The first past verb form is not accompanied by an adverb or a prepositional phrase, or if it is, the adverb or the prepositional phrase are unlikely to receive emphasis.
- The second past verb form is ambiguous. It could be either substantival or adverbial. An example is the *sqm.n=f* of a transitive verb.

Since, with two exceptions discussed in the appended footnote, an initial substantival verb form needs to be followed by an emphasized adverbial element, the second past verb form has to be that adverbial element and can therefore be identified as adverbial on the basis of its syntactic position.⁴⁰ The examples in this group are inferior to those of group (a)

⁴⁰ There are two other constructions that are headed by a substantival verb form, but it seems to me that, unlike the construction expressing contiguity, neither is suitable for a narrative context. The two constructions are as follows.

1. The first construction is the "Wechselsatz," in which the initial substantival verb form is followed by another substantival verb form. I am inclined to believe (with VERNUS, "Formes emphatiques" [see n. 1], 76; unlike SCHENKEL, "Aktuelle Perspektiven" [see n. 10], 277; on this problem, see also JUNGE, "Emphasis" and Sentential Meaning [see n. 10], 54) that the "Wechselsatz" is a nominal sentence expressing *identity* between two substantival verb forms and therefore unable to express a narrative sequence of events. A "Wechselsatz" such as *pr.n=sn r pt m bjkw pr.n=j hr dñhw=sn* (Coffin Texts [see n. 28], III 115g) is difficult to translate into English; it is rendered in French by VERNUS as "si les voilà partis au ciel en tant que faucons, me voilà parti sur leurs ailes."

2. The second construction is postulated and studied by Alviero NICCACCI in a well documented essay entitled "Su una formula dei 'Testi dei Sarcofagi'," *Liber Annuus: Studium Biblicum Franciscanum*, 30 (1980): 197-224. In this case, the initial substantival verb form stands in "anticipatory emphasis" ("as for the fact that . . .") and is followed by an independent verb form. Since, as regards meaning, the relationship between the two members is that between a protasis or "if"-clause and an apodosis or "then"-clause, this construction too is incompatible with a narrative chain. Moreover, NICCACCI notes that there are no unambiguous examples of this construction with an initial substantival *sqm.n=f* ("Su una formula," 221-22).

because the identity of the second form is not established on the basis of morphological criteria. Examples 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 15, 21, 22, and 23, and possibly also 12, belong here. A parallel from Late Egyptian is Example 20.

c. In a third group of examples, both verb forms are morphologically ambiguous. These are as a rule *sdm.n=f* forms of transitive verbs. On the other hand, it can be established that the first verb form is initial. According to the Standard Theory such a form must be substantival.⁴¹ The reasoning applied to examples of group (b) can therefore be applied: the initial *sdm.n=f* is substantival by virtue of its syntactic position and therefore calls for an emphasized element; if the first verb has no adverbial complement or this complement is an unlikely candidate for emphasis, the second past verb form must be emphasized and hence be adverbial for syntactic reasons. Both verb forms are therefore identified on the basis of their position in the sentence. Examples 16, 19, 27, and 28 belong to this group.

14 Of the three groups listed in § 13, the evidence presented by the third is the least cogent because it has no morphological basis. Instances of the third group typically consist of a sequence of a substantival *sdm.n=f* and an adverbial *sdm.n=f*, both of transitive verbs. In hieroglyphic writing, the two forms look alike, though they must have been morphologically distinct. But two points are worth noting here that, in my opinion, underscore the value of examples of group (c).

1. Within the Standard Theory, the possibilities for interpreting *sdm.n=f* forms are limited. There are only two types of *sdm.n=f*. The first is nominal and can be subdivided

⁴¹ POLOTSKY, "Egyptian Tenses" [see n. 10], 16–19 §§ 34–40 = Idem, *Collected Papers* [see n. 10], 86–89 §§ 34–40; POLOTSKY, "Les transpositions du verbe" [see n. 15], 21–23 § 2.6.6–7.

into the substantival and adjectival *sdm.n=f*. The substantival *sdm.n=f* declines according to gender and number; the adjectival *sdm.n=f* does not; otherwise, the substantival and adjectival forms are morphologically identical and share the same vocalization. The second type is adverbial and can be rendered literally as "he having heard." It is assumed that the nominal and adverbial *sdm.n=f* were morphologically distinct but that this distinction does not show in the writing.

Since there are only two types of *sdm.n=f* in Middle Egyptian, it follows that, when a sequence of "bare" *sdm.n=f* forms of transitive verbs without auxiliaries occurs in a text, they cannot be just a string of independent verb forms: the forms should be either substantival or adverbial and a *hierarchy* should exist between them.⁴²

2. If instances of group (c), consisting of two empirically indistinct *sdm.n=f* forms, coexist in a single text with less ambiguous instances of groups (a) and (b), one might adduce *parallelism* as an argument in favor of analyzing the instances of (c) as expressions of contiguity, consisting of a substantival and an adverbial *sdm.n=f*.

In fact, parallelism has always played a preeminent role in Egyptian grammar. It remains the sole argument supporting some of the most important distinctions in the verbal system. The distinction between the past active participle *sdm* and the present active participle *sdm* of a "strong" verb like *sdm* "hear," for instance, is postulated on the basis of the observable difference between *mrr* and *mr* in a "weak" verb like *mrj* "love." No Egyptologist would deny that the form *sdm* hides at least two forms. Yet there is no empirical proof for

⁴² A special case is the continuative construction, a string of past verb forms is jointly subordinated to an initial auxiliary. For a discussion, see § 67 of Part I. Cf. POLOTSKY, "Egyptian Tenses" [see n. 10], 6 § 13 = Idem, *Collected Papers* [see n. 10], 76 § 13; Janet H. JOHNSON, "NIMS in Middle Egyptian," *Serapis: The American Journal of Egyptology*, 6 (1982): 69–73 (with numerous examples).

this assumption. In general, it can be said that parallelism is a procedure all-pervasive of Egyptian grammar. It extends distinctions encountered in certain verbal classes to all verbal classes.⁴³ Another example is as follows.



jr dhrt nbt °q=s m jrt j3bt prr=s m hp3 "As for all bitterness, it is through the left eye that it enters and it is through the navel that it leaves."

(*pEbers*, 100,18–19⁴⁴)

There can be no reasonable doubt, but also no definite empirical proof, that *°q=s* is substantival, and that because it is parallel to *prr=s*.

15 Finally, there is a fourth group, which should be discussed separately because it cannot serve as evidence. Examples belonging to this fourth group consist of sequences of past verb forms of which the first verb form is typically a *sdm.n=f* form

⁴³ "Soweit andern Verbalklassen ein 'imperfektives' *s.f* zugeschrieben wird, geschieht es auf Grund des Parallelismus mit *mrr:f*-Formen. Ganz besonders gilt das natürlich von den starken 3-rad. Verben, die ja überhaupt keine formale Handgabe zur Ansetzung einer Mehrzahl von *s.f*-Formen bieten. Das Bestehen eines 'imperfektiven' *s.f* von solchen Verben entzieht sich dem Beweise und tatsächlich hat kein Geringerer als [Kurt] SETHE [, *Das aegyptische*] *Verbum* [im Altaegyptischen, Neuaegyptischen und Koptischen, 3 vols. (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899–1902)] II § 352 die Meinung vertreten, dass es gar nicht bestanden habe. Hier muss sich ein jeder nach seinen Begriffen von *common sense* seine eigene Ansicht bilden" (POLOTSKY, "Ägyptische Verbalformen" [see n. 10], 280).

⁴⁴ Hermann GRAPOW, *Die medizinischen Texte in hieroglyphischer Umschreibung autographiert*, Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter 5 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958).

of a transitive verb. However, it cannot be established with certainty on the basis of an exegesis of the text that this verb form is initial and hence substantival. Certainty on this count would make examples of this group into instances of group (c) discussed above. The aim of discussing these instances is to show that, if it were certain that the first verb form is initial, it would then be possible to harmonize these instances with the Standard Theory, whereas previously it was not. Examples 17, 29–32, and 33–34 belongs to this fourth group.

EVENTS PRONE TO CONTRACTING A RELATIONSHIP OF CONTIGUITY

16 In principle any pair of events should be able to feature in the construction described previously, providing the relationship between the two events is one of contiguity. Yet there are certain types of events that are more prone than others to contract a contiguous relation with an event following them. Two types will be singled out here.

1. Expressions referring to transitions from one period of time to another, for instance the passages from night to day and from day to night, that is, daybreak and dusk, have a certain extension in time. Any activity beginning at either period of the day is therefore bound to overlap with it (see sections A and B below). The same applies to other temporal transitions (see section C below).
2. A movement from one place to another is typically undertaken with the intention of performing a certain action upon arrival. Since the final portion of the movement will tend to overlap with the beginning of the action, verbs signifying the end point of a movement, that is, verbs meaning "reach" or "arrive," including "come" when the destination is made explicit, will frequently occur in the construction described above (see section C below).

The form *hn.kw*, a stative of a verb of motion, is unequivocally adverbial. The form *ph.n=j*, on the other hand, as the *sdm.n=f* of a transitive verb, is ambiguous as it appears in hieroglyphic writing: it could be either substantival or adverbial. The translation above follows the interpretation that *ph.n=j* is adverbial and parallel to *hn.kw*. However, if *ph.n=j* is substantival, then it must be parallel to *hd.n t3* and the passage ought to be rendered as follows: "When it dawned and I reached Peten, I halted at the Isle of Kem-wer." Whichever interpretation applies, the literal translation of the events presents the sequence of events in reverse order, as in Example 1 in § 5.

Though Example 2a does not illustrate the transition from night to day but rather refers to a transition from ignorance to cognizance, it is quoted here because, as in Example 2, the verb *hnj* "alight" appears in a construction expressing contiguity. As distinct from Example 2, the stative of *hnj* is not "bare," but forms part of the compound verb form *ju* + suffix pronoun + stative; in the period to which Example 2a is dated, the Eighteenth Dynasty, this construction is in all probability exclusively adverbial.

Example 2a



rh.n wj js ju=f hn "No sooner did (he) recognize me than he halted." (*Urkunden IV*,⁴⁷ 158,11–12)

⁴⁷ Kurt SETHE, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie: Historisch-biographische Urkunden*, *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV.1–4* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, and Graz: Akademischen Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1961; reprint of 1927/30²). This example is quoted by GILULA, *Milliyyōt Enqlīṭiyyōt be-Miṣrīt Qlassīt* [see n. 10], 174 with *Notes* 55 n. 13.

The literal translation of this example is "It is after having halted that (he) recognized me." *Rh.n* has no suffix pronoun.⁴⁸

Example 3



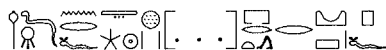
ḥd.n t3 Tnw jj.t(j) "When it dawned, Tenu came."

(*Sinuhe* [see n. 11], B 129)

Tnw is a variant of *Rtnw*. Since the clause *Tnw jj.t(j)* lacks a particle, it is in all probability adverbial.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Elmar EDEL lists the form *rh.n(y)* as an instance of the form *sdm.ny* ("No sooner was I recognized . . ."); see EDEL, "Die Herkunft des neuägyptisch-koptischen Personalsuffixes der 3. Person Plural -w," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 84 (1959): 17–38, at 32.

⁴⁹ The form *prt(j)* in the following fragmentary example is probably also a stative.



ḥd.n rf t3 dw3 dw3 [. . .] prt(j) r dw pf "At dawn, early in the morning, . . . ? . . . went out to this mountain" (Jules COUYAT and Pierre MONTET, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammamât*, Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire 34 [Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1912], No. 199).

Example 3, which contains the stative of *jjj* "come," may be compared to a similar example from the Late Period, when Middle Egyptian was still used as an artificial language: in lines 147–48 of King Piye's Victory Stela and elsewhere in the same text (see N.-C. GRIMAL, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y au Musée du Caire*, Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire 105 [Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1981], 177), *ḥd t3* is followed, not by the stative, but by *jj.n*, the *sdm.n=f* of a verb of motion. A shift must therefore have occurred in the meaning of *ḥd t3*; perhaps it was already used in Piye's Stela, like Coptic *htouu* "in the morning," as an adverb.

In Example 8, *jw* is probably followed by a *sdmw* passive.

Example 8



h3d.n rf t3 dw3 dw3 jw jr mj dd=f "At dawn, early in the morning, it was done as he had said."

(*Hirtengeschichte*,⁵³ 22–23)

19 The discussion of the expression *h3d.n t3* concludes with three examples featuring *h3d t3*, without *n*. In Examples 9 and 10, *h3d t3* has past meaning; in Example 11, present. Like in Examples 2–8, these passages also seem to express contiguity.

Middle Egyptian substantival *sdm.n=f* of verbs of motion and other intransitive verbs had by late Middle Egyptian developed into *sdm=f* after loss of *n*.⁵⁴ This *sdm=f* form, "emphatic" like its Middle Egyptian forebear, is restricted to literary Late Egyptian. The corresponding non-literary form is *j.jr=f sdm*.

In accordance with this evolution, *h3d.n t3*, which contains the intransitive verb *h3d*, developed into *h3d t3*, as later copies of the two passages featuring *h3d.n t3* in the Story of Sinuhe demonstrate.⁵⁵ Other examples of *h3d t3* are as follows.

⁵³ Alan H. GARDINER, *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe und die Hirtengeschichte*, Literarische Texte des Mittleren Reiches 2 = Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin 5 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1909).

⁵⁴ See Edward F. WENTE, "A Late Egyptian Emphatic Tense," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 28 (1969): 1–14, at 1, 1 n. 2; Sarah Israelit GROLL, "lw *sdm.f* in Late Egyptian," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 28 (1969): 184–91.

⁵⁵ Compare *h3d.n t3* in the versions B 20–21 and R 46 with *h3d t3* in C 7 and AO recto 17, and *h3d.n t3* in version B 129 with *h3d t3* in AO verso 42. For editions of B, R, and C, see nn. 11, 16; for AO, see n. 16.

Example 9



ḥd t3wy ḥms.kw ḥr wsr m3.n=j “At dawn I set down at the oar and saw. . . .” (pBerlin 10,747,⁵⁶ verso 1–2)

Example 10



ḥd rf t3 dw3 dw3 jw nn n rmt pr ḥr pḏwt “At dawn, early in the morning,⁵⁷ these people went out carrying bows. . . .” (*Destruction of Mankind*,⁵⁸ 34)

In Example 9, the “bare” stative *hms.kw* can hardly be anything else but adverbial or circumstantial. In Example 10, the fact that *jw nn n rmt pr* follows substantival *hd t3* (< *hd.n t3*) suggests that it is adverbial by virtue of its syntactic position and that *jw* has therefore subordinating function, as in Late Egyptian, and increasingly in later Middle Egyptian.

In Example 11, *hḏ t3* expresses the present tense and therefore does not correspond to Middle Egyptian *hḏ.n t3*. But

⁵⁶ "Die Erwerbungen der ägyptischen Abtheilung der Königl. Museen im Jahre 1889," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 28 (1890): 54–62, at 60. This example is quoted by GILULA, "Shipwrecked Sailor, Lines 184–85" [see n. 10], 80 n. 31.

⁵⁷ For the interpretation of *dw3 dw3*, see GILULA, "Shipwrecked Sailor. Lines 184–85" [see n. 10], 79 n. 28.

⁵⁸ Charles MAYSTRE, "Le Livre de la Vache du Ciel dans les tombeaux de la Vallée des Rois," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale*, 40 (1941): 53–115, at 78–79. For the text, see also Erik HORNING, *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh: Eine Ätiologie des Unvollkommenen*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 46 (Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz und Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982).

it is probably also substantival, corresponding to forms with gemination like *mrr=f* in third weak verbs in Middle Egyptian.

Example 11

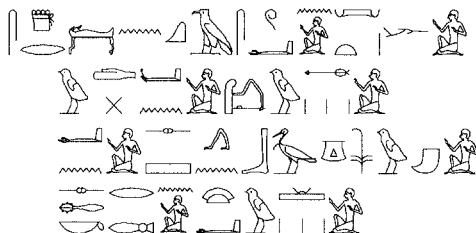


jr 3b=k šḥr m grḥ ḥḏ t3 jw=f ḥpr 3s “When you covet a thought at night, as soon as it becomes light it immediately takes place.” (*Kubban Stela*,⁵⁹ 13)

B. Transitions from Day to Night

20 The following famous passage from the Story of Sinuhe example has been the subject of repeated discussion, especially in connection with problems dealt with here.⁶⁰

Example 12



⁵⁹ Paul TRESSON, *La stèle de Koubân*, Bibliothèque d'Étude 9 (Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1942); C.E. SANDER-HANSEN, *Historische Inschriften der 19. Dynastie*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 4 (Brussels: Egyptologische Stichting Koningin Elizabeth, 1933), 31,9–10.

⁶⁰ See, for instance, VERNUS, “Formes emphatiques” [see n. 1], 79; SCHENKEL, “Aktuelle Perspektiven” [see n. 10], 279; JUNGE, “Emphasis” and Sentential Meaning [see n. 10], 55, 55 n. 49 (with a survey of interpretations).

*sḏr.n q3s.n=j pḏt=j wd.n=j ḥ3w=j dj.n=j sš n b3gsw=j
shkr.n=j ḥ^cw=j* (*Sinuhe* [see n. 11], B 127–29)

Most translators agree that, in this passage, *Sinuhe* states that he strung his bow, prepared his arrows, practiced with his dagger, and polished his weapons *during the night*. But there is disagreement about the grammatical interpretation on which this translation should be founded.

What follows is a grammatical analysis of Example 12 (§ 21) and an inquiry into the translations this analysis can yield (§ 22).

21 The sentence preceding Example 12 ends in *mj m* “like what?” and the sentence following it begins with *ḥḏ.n t3* “When it dawned. . . .” Example 12 therefore stands between two firm sentence boundaries, and it is justified to study its syntax in isolation.

The passage contains a sequence of five *sḏm.n=f* forms, namely *sḏr.n*, *q3s.n=j*, *wd.n=j*, *dj.n=j*, and *shkr.n=j*. Unfortunately, the nature of the hieroglyphic script is such that it is not possible to make any decision regarding the morphology of these forms on the basis of empirical observation. Any conclusion regarding the morphological character of the five *sḏm.n=f* forms must therefore be based on inference.

The conceptual framework used here to achieve inferences regarding the morphology of verb forms is the Standard Theory. According to the Standard Theory, there are two types of *sḏm.n=f* forms, nominal and adverbial. Each of the five *sḏm.n=f* forms in Example 12 should therefore be assigned to either of these types.

Since the five verb forms in Example 12 are not distinct in writing, it may be tempting to interpret them as five independent and hierarchically equivalent forms. This interpretation would yield a satisfactory meaning (“Night fell, I strung my bow, I prepared my weapons . . .”). But in view of what is now known about the structure of Middle Egyptian,

this is not a possibility, and the *sdm.n=f* forms in Example 12 must be either substantival or adverbial.

The five *sdm.n=f* forms cannot all be substantival, since "Wechselsätze" do not suit the context. Nor can *all* the *sdm.n=f* forms be dependent and adverbial, since that would leave Example 12 without a main sentence. It is possible, however, that the passage consists of both substantival and adverbial verb forms that are mutually interdependent, since this is a well attested construction according to the Standard Theory. Since a Middle Egyptian sentence *cannot* begin with an adverbial verb form, the initial *sdr.n* must be substantival.

That *sdr.n* is substantival is confirmed by the fact that the verb *sdr* belongs in all probability to those intransitive verbs whose *sdm.n=f* form is, like that of the verbs of motion, exclusively substantival. With such verbs, adverbial function is expressed by the stative.

Because *sdr.n* is initial and substantival, it needs to be followed by an emphasized adverbial element. Since *sdr.n* is not accompanied by any complements, that emphasized adverbial element must be *q3s.n=j*, and since it is reasonable to assume that *wd.n=j*, *dj.n=j*, and *shkr.n=j* are parallel to *q3s.n=j*, the four *sdm.n=f* forms are probably all adverbial.

The conclusion that the initial substantival verb form *sdr.n* in Example 12 is followed by adverbial verb forms receives support from Example 13 from Middle Egyptian and Examples 14a and 14b from Late Egyptian. What distinguishes these examples from Example 12 is that the verb forms following *sdr* are morphologically unambiguously adverbial.

In Example 13, substantival *sdr.n=j* is followed by a "bare" stative. In Examples 14a and 14b, non-literary Late Egyptian *j.jr=f sdr* and literary Late Egyptian *sdr=f*,⁶¹ both

⁶¹ In Late Egyptian, the *sdm=f* of intransitive verbs is as a rule substantival, being the descendant of the Middle Egyptian *sdm.n=f* after *n* was lost. But the *sdm=f* of intransitive verbs is limited to literary Late Egyptian. In non-literary Late Egyptian, only the *sdm=f* of transitive verbs occurs and it

functional equivalents of Middle Egyptian *sd.r.n=j*, are followed by instances of *jw sđm=f* “he having heard,” an unequivocal adverbial form. The translation will be discussed in § 22.

Example 13



sdr.n=j wd^c.kw hn^c=f (*Coffin Texts* [see n. 27], II 233c–234a B2Bo). Other adverbial clauses follow.

Example 14a



j.jr=f sdr jw w^cj=f jsw
(The "Turin Strike Papyrus," recto 2,9⁶²)

Example 14b



*sdr Dhwtj jw h3b=f r Kmt (The Taking of Joppa, 3,6 = Late-Egyptian Stories,*⁶³ 84,13–14)

is never substantival. In non-literary texts, the substantival form of all verbs is as a rule periphrastic *j.jr=f sdm*. See GROLL, “*iw sdm.f* in Late Egyptian” [see n. 54]; WENTE, “A Late Egyptian Emphatic Tense” [see n. 54].

⁶² Alan H. GARDINER, *Ramesside Administrative Documents* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), 54,17. This example is cited by GROLL, "*tw sdm.f* in Late Egyptian" [see n. 54], 189.

⁶³ Alan H. GARDINER, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 1 (Brussels: Egyptologische Stichting Koningin Elizabeth, 1932 = 1972²). The example is quoted by Fritz HINTZE, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache neuägyptischer Erzählungen*, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichungen 2, 6 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1950–52), 57.

22 Examples 12, 13, 14a, and 14b seem to be instances of a single idiom. Before examining this idiom, a note on the meaning of *sḏr* is in order.

Adjective-verbs like *nfr* are usually listed in dictionaries with the meaning “be good.” But in fact, most forms of the verb refer to “become good,” that is, a *process* rather than a *state*. To express a state (“having become good,” that is, “being good”), a verb like *nfr* as a rule assumes the stative form.

The same contrast between process and state may apply to other types of intransitive verbs. One such type is the verbs of posture. The verbs *ḥ^c* and *ḥmsj* are to be translated in most of their forms by “rise” and “sit down,” that is, as a process. But when these verbs appear in the stative, they are equivalents of “be standing” and “be seated, be sitting.” It seems reasonable to assume that a third verb form of posture, *sḏr*, is characterized by the same contrast. If so, *sḏr* would be an equivalent of the state “be lying, be prostrate” in the stative form, but of the process “lie down” in the other verb forms.

It is then also plausible that the opposition between process and state affects the other meaning of *sḏr*, “spend the night.” In the *sḏm.n=f* form, this verb would refer to a process, “begin the night” or “enter the night.” The literal translation of Examples 12, 13, 14a, and 14b would then be as follows.

Example 12: “It is after having strung my bow, prepared my arrows, practiced with my dagger, and polished my weapons that (I) entered the night.”

Example 13: “It is after having been judged with him that he entered the night.”

Example 14a: “It is after having cursed the tomb that he entered the night.”

Example 14b: “It is after having written a letter to Egypt that Thoht entered the night.”

The most widespread interpretation of Example 12, namely that Sinuhe prepared his weapons *during the night*, is

not supported by the above analysis. Instead, two interpretations of Example 12, 13, 14a, and 14b are proposed here.

According to the first interpretation, the contrastive emphasis suggests that every effort was made to finish a certain action *before dark*. This can be rendered by adding "only" to the translation: (Example 12) "It is only after having strung my bow, prepared my arrows, practiced with my dagger, and polished my weapons that (I) entered the night (that is, went to sleep)"; (Example 13) "It is only after having been judged with him that he entered the night," and so on.

But it is a second interpretation that is preferred here, namely that Examples 12, 13, 14a, and 14b express contiguity and, like the passages quoted in §§ 17–19 and 23, refer to a transition of one time period to another. For reasons not given in the text, the individuals mentioned in the four examples wait until the evening to perform their respective tasks. The execution of these tasks therefore begins at and partly overlaps with the transition from day to night—hence the contiguity of the two events.⁶⁴ Possible translations of Example 12 are as follows (cf. § 11): "No sooner did it become night than I strung my bow"; or, "In the evening I strung my bow"; or again, "At

⁶⁴ According to this interpretation, "I went home at night" would be expressed by **sdr.n=j šm.kw r pr=j*. Contiguity of two events of which the first is a transition from one period of the day to another is expressed in the following parallel example from Arabic by a construction that has been defined in §§ 14 and 68 of Part I as an expression of "conjunction," namely an asyndetic construction in which two verb forms follow one another without being connected by *wa* "and": *amsā ahluhā ḥtamalū* "At night their people set out"; literally: "It became evening (and) their people set out." Carl BROCKELMANN quotes this example in his *Arabische Grammatik* (Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1982²¹), 181 § 146 note b, describing the meaning of the construction as follows: "Ein Verbum kann durch eine gleiche Form fortgesetzt werden als Ausdruck einer *unmittelbar anschliessenden Handlung*" (italics added).

Example 14b: “In the evening Thoth wrote a letter to Egypt.”

C. Another Transition from One Period of Time to Another

Example 15



hpr.n tr n msyt s3h.n=j r dmj ng3w d3.n=j m wsht “At dinner time I reached Cattle Quay and crossed in a barge” (*Sinuhe* [see n. 11], B 11–13 = R 36–38). Or: “It

⁶⁶ Since “at night” refers to the earlier part of the night and is roughly synonymous to “after dark,” it is perfect for our present purpose. For an action occurring later, one would use “late at night” (for instance, at 1 a.m.), and even later, “early in the morning” (for instance, at 4 a.m.). JUNG, “*Emphasis*” and *Sentential Meaning* [see n. 10], 55, 55 n. 49, therefore inaccurately equates Miriam LICHTHEIM’s translation “At night . . .” of Example 12 (*Ancient Egyptian Literature. Volume I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973], 228) with a long list of other published translation such as “in the night. . .,” “during the night. . .,” and “at night-time. . .”

⁶⁶ For examples of the expression *hpr:n nw n sty-r3* "At the time of the mid-day meal . . .", which possibly also belongs here, see "*Carnarvon Tablet I*" [see n. 51], 14; Adriaan DE BUCK, *Egyptian Readingbook* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1963), 64, 13.

was dinnertime when I reached Cattle Quay . . .” (cf. n. 32).

The forms *s3h.n=j* and *d3.n=j* are transitive verbs whose direct objects are not expressed. If they were treated as intransitive verbs, one would expect the stative as adverbial verb form.

Alternatively, *d3.n=j* might itself form a second construction expressing contingency together with the following *sdm.n=f* (*sw3.n=j*) as an expression of contiguity: “No sooner had I crossed over than. . . .” This interpretation receives support from the fact that a rubric in the Ashmolean Ostrakon [see n. 16] at recto 14 indicates that a new section begins with *d3.n=j*.

*D. Expressions Referring to
the End Point of a Motion*

24 “Arriving” is an event which, like the transitions from night to day and day to night, is particularly prone to occur in a contiguous relationship with an action immediately following it. One typically moves to a place with the purpose of undertaking a certain action and, upon arrival, promptly embarks upon that action.

Examples of Egyptian verbs referring to the final segment of movements are transitive *ph* and intransitive *spr*, which both mean “reach, arrive,” and *juj/jjj* “come” when followed by an indication of the point of arrival.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ The verbs *spr* and *ph* also feature in Late Egyptian and Demotic examples cited by POLOTSKY, “Egyptian Tenses” [see n. 10], 8–9 n. 19 = Idem, *Collected Papers* [see n. 10], 78–79 n. 19, in which simultaneity, not anteriority, is used to refer to contiguity (cf. chapter 10 below).

at the place and time of speaking.⁷⁰ Even when *jw sdm.n=f* is used as a narrative verb form, past events are narrated from the point of view of the present.⁷¹ Many examples of this narrative use of *jw sdm.n=f* are found in the autobiographical texts of the First Intermediate Period, in which prominent Egyptians narrate their lives, looking back into the past from the present point in time. The presence of the speaker's standpoint is obvious from the appearance of first person singular pronouns in most sentences in which narrative *jw sdm.n=f* is used.

On the other hand, in narrative sequences totally detached from the speaker's point of view, for instance, a fairy tale or a story in which the events occur at no specific time and in no specific place ("Once there was a king in a . . ."), I believe the particle *jw*, and hence also *jw sdm.n=f*, cannot be used.⁷² To this type of narrative belong the narrative portions of the Story of the Eloquent Peasant. And since it is in these portions that Example 16 is found, *jw* is not a possible restoration for the lacuna.

⁷⁰ "[T]w in principal sentences generally introduc[es] a statement regarded from the standpoint of the Present" (Battiscombe GUNN, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* [Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1924], 98 n. 1); cf. POLOTSKY, "Les transpositions du verbe" [see n. 15], 36 § 3.8.4, 36 n. 60. But GUNN does not seem to include the narrative use of *jw sdm.n=f*. In fact, in his article "A Sixth Dynasty Letter from Saqqara," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, 25 (1925): 242–55, at 247, he states that *jw sdm.n=f* expresses the "present perfect tense (not the narrative perfect)." Perhaps he refers here to Old Kingdom texts, for which his statement is correct. First Intermediate Period texts were not as well known as a corpus earlier in this century. Nevertheless, I believe that GUNN's observations about *jw* essentially hold true, even for narrative texts, as will be discussed next.

⁷¹ This includes such striking instances of the narrative use of *jw sdm.n=f* as *jw ḥpr.n ḥ'pj šrj rnpt ḥsbt* 25 "A low Nile happened in year 25," quoted from the stela of *Mnṯw-ḥtp(w)* by DORET, *The Narrative Verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian* [see n. 3], 126 Example 210. Cf. SCHENKEL, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 35 [see n. 68], 240, 240 n. 13.

⁷² Similarly DORET, *The Narrative Verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian* [see n. 3], 13–14.

An instance in which *jm sdm.n=f* is used properly in the Eloquent Peasant is found at R 160 = B 1,74–75, where *jm sdm.n=f* appears in direct speech: *dd=f*, “*nb=j jm gm.n=j*” . . . “He said, ‘My lord, I have found. . . .’”⁷³

Moreover, *ph.n=f* is initial and therefore substantival. Since it is not accompanied by an adverb or a prepositional phrase, *mh.n* is the only candidate for emphasis and is hence adverbial by virtue of its syntactic position.⁷⁴

As regards the lacuna preceding *mh.n*, it could accommodate a large writing of *tn* “this.”⁷⁵ The trace of ink preceding *mh.n* might therefore belong to a large *t*. In fact, the demonstrative pronoun *tn* occurs in the expression *mdt tn* at B 1,72 and 185, and the size of *tn* in these instances is compatible with the lacuna at R 59–61. In favor of restoring *tn* is that B 1 may have been copied by the same scribe as R.⁷⁶ On the other hand, *tn* is found in a *column* and needs to be restored in a *line*. Whatever the word preceding *mh.n* in the lacuna may be, if not *tn*, it probably modifies *mdt* and not *mh.n*.

26 Like Example 16, Example 17 below contains a *jm sdm.n=f* of the verb *ph* “reach,” namely *ph.n=n*. But in this instance, the *jm sdm.n=f* of *ph* is preceded by the particle *mk*.⁷⁷ The following translation assumes that *ph.n=n* is substantival and that the sentence expresses contiguity.

⁷³ This example is cited by POLOTSKY, “Egyptian Tenses” [see n. 10], 18 § 38 = Idem, *Collected Papers* [see n. 10], 88 § 38, with similar examples.

⁷⁴ Version B has “*h^c.n mh.n*. . . . The clause *ph.n=f rf dd mdt* . . . is omitted, but at least *mh.n* is also adverbial, following *h^c.n*.”

⁷⁵ Restored, for instance, by SCHENKEL, “Aktuelle Perspektiven” [see n. 10], 283, though together with [j]w.

⁷⁶ VOGELSANG and GARDINER, *Die Klagen des Bauern* [see n. 31], IV.

⁷⁷ On *mk*, see POLOTSKY, “Egyptian Tenses” [see n. 10], 21–22 § 43 = Idem, *Collected Papers* [see n. 10], 91–92 § 43; Janet H. JOHNSON, “The Use of the Particle *mk* in Middle Kingdom Letters,” in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens* [see n. 4], vol. 1, 71–85; COLLIER, “The Circumstantial *sdm(f)/sdm.n(f)* as Verbal Verb-forms” [see n. 14].

Example 18, from Late Egyptian, resembles Example 17. Both examples feature *ph* and describe an arrival at a harbor—be it from land, be it from sea—and objects being put in their proper place. Example 17 is introduced by *mk*, Example 18 by its Late Egyptian successor *ptr*.

Example 18



ptr ph p3 ph n t3y=k tt jw=f w3h (Wenamun, 2,48–49
= *Late Egyptian Stories* [see n. 63], 72,1–2)

If *ph* were “emphatic,”⁷⁸ the sentence might express contiguity:⁷⁹ “Look, as soon as the last of your timber arrived it was stacked.”⁸⁰ It is not certain, however, that *ph* is “emphatic.” The issue is of some complexity and involves the distinctions between (1) non-literary and literary Late Egyptian and (2) transitive and intransitive verbs.

1. The Story of Wenamun is generally considered a specimen of non-literary Late Egyptian. As regards the second distinction, *ph* can be defined as transitive because the stative

⁷⁸ The Late Egyptian verb forms whose function it is to emphasize adverbial elements are called here “emphatic” because to *emphasize* adverbial elements is their *only* function. The term is placed between quotation marks because of the controversy surrounding its use. The Middle Egyptian equivalents of the Late Egyptian “emphatic” forms are called “substantival” here because, in addition to functioning as the substantival component of an adverbial sentence in order to lay emphasis on the adverbial component of that sentence, they can appear in just about any syntactic slot in which a substantive can be found.

⁷⁹ Cf. WENTE, “A Late Egyptian Emphatic Tense” [see n. 54], 7.

⁸⁰ For *w3h* “stack,” see Aylward M. BLACKMAN, “Notes on Certain Passages in Various Middle Egyptian Texts,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 16 (1930): 63–72, at 63–64.

Late-Egyptian Miscellanies,⁸³ 105,6–7). Compare “An inspector . . . tested the drain, when he found that the joints of the pipes were not properly cemented” (*Oxford English Dictionary*², vol. 20, 209b).

As *sdm.f* of a verb of motion and descendant of Middle Egyptian *sdm.n=f* of verbs of motion, *spr=f* is “emphatic.”⁸⁴

28 Examples with *juj/jjj* “come” are as follows.

Example 21



mk grt jj.n=j mjn3 m hntyt hsb.n=k n=j qdb “When I came south there where you are,⁸⁵ you reckoned for me the rent” (*Hekanakhte*,⁸⁶ Plate I, 9–10). Or, “As soon as I had come there where you are, . . .”

⁸³ Alan H. GARDINER, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 7 (Brussels: Egyptologische Stichting Koningin Elizabeth, 1937). This example is cited by WENTE, “A Late Egyptian Emphatic Tense” [see n. 54], 9.

⁸⁴ See the contributions listed in n. 54.

⁸⁵ For *mjn3*, see Klaus BAER, “An Eleventh Dynasty Farmer’s Letters to His Family,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 83 (1963): 3–19, at 3 n. 10. In my opinion, *mjn3* can in each of its five occurrences in the Hekanakhte Archive—in addition to Examples 21–23, see also Plate II, 36, and Plate II, 39–40—be interpreted as “there where you are” as opposed to ‘3 which means “here (where I am and also you typically are).”

⁸⁶ [Battiscombe GUNN and] T.G.H. JAMES, *The Hekanakhte Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents*, Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art 19 (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1962). For the examples with *jj.n.j*, see Aristide THÉODORIDÈS, *Chronique d’Égypte* 41 (1966): 299 (“Nous ne comprenons vraiment pas pourquoi il faudrait conférer à la seconde proposition, jugée comme étant la principale, une nuance d’antériorité par rapport à l’autre”).

mjn3, namely *hsb.n=k*, *jr.n=j*, and *dd.n=j*, must be. These verb forms are therefore adverbial.

Examples 21, 22, and 23 bear all the characteristics of the construction expressing contiguity outlined above. For example, it has been noted with regard to Examples 22 and 23 that the contrastive emphasis is difficult to account for.⁸⁸ Moreover, most interpreters agree that the sequence of events in Examples 21 and 22 is that given in the translations above, and not the reverse, as a literal translation would imply. As regards contiguity, *mjn3* puts the focus on the end point of the motion expressed by *jj.n=j*, that part which touches the following event: "As soon as I got there (where you are), . . ."⁸⁹

29 The verb form *jj.n* is also found in the following passage from the Coffin Texts:

Example 24



(jj.n=j) jj.n=j hr hft(y) pf jw=f rdj n=j kmt hr=j

⁸⁸ BAER, "An Eleventh Dynasty Farmer's Letters" [see n. 85], 3–4 n. 10 (end of page 3).

⁸⁹ In the Fourth Hymn to Sesostriis III in the Kahun Papyri (Kurt SETHE, *Ägyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht* [Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1924], 67), each verse begins with the substantival verb form *jj.n=f*, though this form is only written out in the first verse. The *sdm.n=f* forms following (*jj.n=f*) must therefore be emphasized by it: "It is after having . . . that he came." But perhaps, the events are presented in reverse order as an expression of contiguity: "When he came, . . ." or "As soon as he came, . . ."; LICHTHEIM's translation "He came and . . ." (*Ancient Egyptian Literature I* [see n. 65], 200) also implies that the coming preceded the following actions. The coming definitely is first in line 1 of the hymn: *jj.n=f n=n jt=f* "He came to us so that he might conquer. . ."

“As soon as I came upon that enemy, he was given to me completely (?) under me.”

(*Coffin Texts* [see n. 28], II 249b–c S1C^a)

In *jw=f rdj* (stative), *jw* probably introduces a subordinate clause—as is often the case when *jw* is followed by a suffix pronoun.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ “The unequal range of meaning displayed by *lw* when its subject is nominal or pronominal” was discovered by Battiscombe GUNN, as reported by GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar* [see n. 52], XIV. Cf. POLOTSKY, “Egyptian Tenses” [see n. 10], 21 n. 54 = Idem, *Collected Papers* [see n. 10], 91.

That *jw* + suffix pronoun is much more likely to be a circumstance of what precedes than *jw* + noun—or that, when *jw* began evolving from independent to dependent function, *jw* + suffix pronoun was first affected—comes as no surprise since the pronoun in *jw* + suffix pronoun refers to an entity previously mentioned and is therefore linked with the preceding sentence. Along the same lines, it is tempting to think—but would be difficult to prove—that *jw* + noun first shifted from independence to dependence in instances in which the clause headed by *jw* + noun contained a pronoun referring to an entity mentioned in the previous sentence.

EXPRESSIONS OF CONTIGUITY IN THE STORY OF SINUHE

30 Few literary narratives have been preserved in Middle Egyptian. The longest and best known is the Story of Sinuhe. The text abounds with narrative verb forms. Two general observations have been made regarding those verb forms.⁹¹

First, there are a conspicuously high number of *sdm.n=f* forms in the Story of Sinuhe that can potentially be interpreted as “initial” verb forms. It is not always certain which of those *sdm.n=f* forms are “initial,” but one has the impression that many *must* be because of the sparsity of auxiliary elements marking independence such as *jw* and *‘h^c.n*. According to the Standard Theory, initial *sdm.n=f* forms are—with few exceptions, such as the “Wechselsatz”—as a rule “emphatic.” The result is an inflation of past verb forms in the Story of Sinuhe supposedly emphasizing adverbial elements, often without an apparent reason.

Second, a stylistic analysis of the “brute meaning” of the story suggests that narrative verb forms pair up in what have been called “thought couplets.”

⁹¹ John L. FOSTER, “The *Sdm.n.f* Forms in *The Tale of Sinuhe*,” *Revue d’Égyptologie*, 34 (1982–83): 27–52; Idem, “The Ancient Egyptian Genre of Narrative Verse,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 39 (1980): 89–117. For a recent discussion of related problems, see Edmund S. MELTZER, “*Sdm.f*, *Sdm.n.f*, and Verbs of Motion in Sinuhe: Some Reflections,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 28 (1991): 133–38. See also Gary GREIG, “The *Sdm=f* and *Sdm.n=f* in the Story of Sinuhe and the Theory of the Nominal (Emphatic) Verbs,” in *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, ed. Sarah ISRAELIT-GROLL, 2 vols. (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1990), vol. 1, 264–348.

It will be suggested below, then, that the construction expressing contiguity discussed previously provides grammatical support for these two observations. First, the assumption that instances of the construction occur in the story eliminates cases in which one previously had to accept—in agreement with the Standard Theory but against the meaning of the text—substantival forms emphasizing adverbial elements. On the other hand, the construction offers a grammatical foundation for the “thought couplet,” the key notion of a sensible stylistic appraisal of the Story of Sinuhe.⁹²

31 In §§ 13–15, examples of the construction expressing contiguity, which consist of a substantival and an adverbial component, were classified into four groups.

1. The verb forms of the substantival and the adverbial component are morphologically unambiguous.

2. Only the verb forms of the substantival component are morphologically unambiguous. Those of the adverbial component are identified by their syntactic position.

3. The verb forms of both the substantival and the adverbial component are morphologically ambiguous. They are identified by their syntactic position. It is certain that the first verb form is initial.

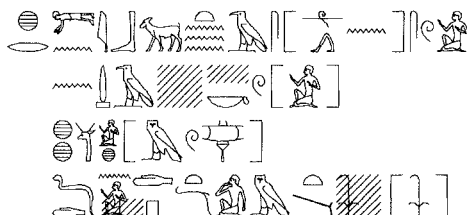
4. This group consists of instances in which a morphologically ambiguous form is tentatively identified as initial. If this identification were certain, such examples would belong to group (3). Though “philological interpretation is not of much

⁹² Possible differences in the interpretation of individual examples between FOSTER's studies [see n. 91] and the present essay do not affect my agreement with his two general observations and I will therefore refrain from a detailed comparison. In fact, it is often not possible to provide conclusive evidence for an interpretation that relies only on one's sense of the meaning of the text.

use as an independent check upon grammatical theory,"⁹³ the instances are worth discussing because they have not been accounted for grammatically. Moreover, there are only two main possible identifications of morphologically ambiguous *sdm.n=f* forms: they are either nominal or adverbial (but see also n. 14 for the latter). Therefore, though it may not be certain which forms are initial in chains of *sdm.n=f* forms, there is little doubt that some must be.

32 Instances of group (1) are rare. In addition to Examples 1 and 2, the following passage belongs to it.

Example 25



hr.n jbt 3s.[n=s] wj nd3.kw hh=j h[mw] dd.n[=j] dpt m(w)t n[n] "When thirst fell and overtook me, I was parched, my throat was burning, and I said, 'This is the taste of death'." (*Sinuhe* [see n. 11], R 47–48⁹⁴)

The forms *hr.n* and *nd3.kw* are morphologically unambiguous. On the one hand, substantival *hr.n* contrasts with its adverbial counterpart, the stative *hr(w)*, found at *Sinuhe* B 3 and 134–35; the Ashmolean Ostrakon, a later copy, has *hr jb*, as expected (see § 19). On the other hand, *nd3.kw*, a "bare" stative, must be adverbial and dependent. The form

⁹³ POLOTSKY, "Egyptian Tenses" [see n. 10], 11 § 24 = Idem, *Collected Papers* [see n. 10], 81 § 24.

⁹⁴ In B 21–22, *hr.n jbt 3s.n=f w(j)*, *jbt* is referred to by the masculine suffix. Perhaps, *jbt* had become masculine (cf. Coptic *p-eibe*).

3s.n=f, however, as a *sdm.n=f* of a transitive verb, is ambiguous; it may be parallel to substantival *hr.n* or adverbial *nd3.kw* ("When thirst fell, it overtook me, I was parched. . . .").

33 In addition to Examples 3, 12, and 15, the following example probably also belongs to group (2) of §§ 19 and 31.

Example 26



njs.n.tw n w^c jm jst w(j) ^ch^c.kw sdm.n=j hrw=f jw=f hr mdt jw=j m ^cr w3 "No sooner was one of them summoned than I was on my feet. And hardly did I hear his voice as he was speaking when I was already at some distance." (*Sinuhe* [see n. 11], B 1–2 = R 24–25)

Amemenhet I has died and heir Sesostri is away from the palace. When another prince is summoned, Sinuhe is alarmed and rises, ready to depart. No sooner does he hear the prince's words, confirming his fears, than he is already at some distance. *Njs.n.tw* is an affirmative *sdm.n.tw=f*, stressing an adverbial expression. If *n w^c jm* is not stressed, *jst w(j) ^ch^c.kw* must be, and Example 26 could express contiguity. *Jst w(j) ^ch^c.kw* "while I had risen" is traditionally translated as "while I was standing (there)," but there is no equivalent of "there."

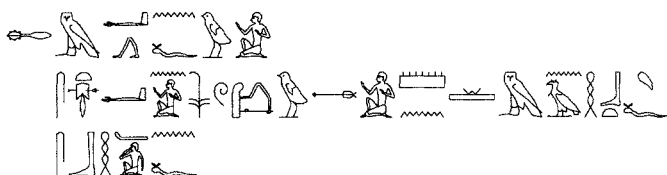
34 Examples of group (3) (§§ 19, 31, Example 13) are.

Example 30



dr.n=f s(y) r-dr=s dd.n=f ḥ3=f ḥn^c=j ḥmt.n=f ḥwt=f wj
 “When he had conquered it all, he said that he would
 fight with me and planned to plunder me.” (*Sinuhe*
 [see n. 11], B 110–12; R 136–37 is fragmentary)

Example 31



ḥm^c.n=f wj st.n=j sw ḥ3w=j mn m nḥbt=f sbḥ.n=f
 “As soon as he attacked me, I shot him, my arrow was
 fixed in his neck, and he screamed.” (*Sinuhe* [see n.
 11], B 137–39; R 164–65 is fragmentary)⁹⁶

Example 32



dmj.n=j s3tw dj.n=j sw sš ḥr šnby=j “As soon as I
 touched the soil, I spread it on my chest” (*Sinuhe* [see
 n. 11], B 200–201). Or: “Hardly had I touched the soil
 when I spread it on my chest.”⁹⁷ But see also § 8.

⁹⁶ Example 31 immediately follows Example 1 in the Story of Sinuhe.

⁹⁷ Compare “Scarcely had she touched the spindle when she pierced her hand with it” (*Oxford English Dictionary*², vol. 20, 209b).

The following interpretations may also be considered, though there is no unequivocal evidence supporting them.

- *hmt.n=j hpr h3^cyt n dd=j ^cnh r s3=f* “When I anticipated that there would be turmoil, I did not say, ‘There is life after this’.” (B 7 = R 30–31)
- *nmj.n=j M3^cty m h3w n Nht sm3.n=j m Jw-Snfrw* “No sooner had I crossed Maaty near Sycamore than I reached Isle-of-Snefru.” (B 8–9 = R 33–34)⁹⁸
- (*hp.n=j s ^ch^c m r-w3t*) *tr.n=f wj snd.n=j* ⁹⁹ *n=f* “(I encountered a man standing on the road.) When he greeted me, I became afraid of him” (B 10–11 = R 34–35). Or perhaps, “When I encountered a man standing on the road and he greeted me, I became afraid of him.”
- *šm.n=j hn^c=f n whwt=f nfr jrt.n=sn* “When I went with him to his tribe, what they did for me was good”¹⁰⁰ (B 27–28 = R 51–52). Literally: “That I went with him to his tribe is while what they did for me was good.”

36 The following examples belong to group (4).

⁹⁸ This passage is followed by an unequivocal instance of a sentence consisting of a substantival verb form followed by an emphasized adverbial verb form: *hd.n=j wn hrw* “I set out in the morning when it was day” (*Sinuhe* [see n. 11], B 10 = R 34). GUNN has suggested reading *wd.n=j* (*Middle-Egyptian Stories* [see n. 10], 9a).

⁹⁹ Tentatively reading *snd.n=j*, with the Ashmolean Ostrakon [see n. 16] recto 13, against B and R *snd.n=f*.

¹⁰⁰ Interpreting *nfr* as a *sdm=f* form and assuming that contiguity is expressed by simultaneity (see chapter 10). Simultaneity also expresses contiguity at *Sinuhe* B 38; see POLOTSKY, “Egyptian Tenses” [see n. 10], 10 § 21 = Idem, *Collected Papers* [see n. 10], 80 § 21.

Example 33



Jmn hr (dd) jnk jr sw rdj.n=j m3^t r st=s t3 smn pt hr.tj psdt htp.tj hr sp=f “Amon said, ‘It is I who made him. No sooner did I restore Justice to her place than the land was stable, the sky content, and the Ennead pleased as before” (*Kubban Stela* [see n. 59], 4). The sentence coming after this is quoted as Example 35.

Example 34

hpr.n=j hpr.n hprt “As soon as I came into existence, that which exists came into existence.” (*pTurin, CGT 54,065*)¹⁰¹

The first *hpr.n* is interpreted as substantival, the second as adverbial.¹⁰² The sentence is followed by the roughly synonymous *hpr.n hprt [nbt m]-ht hpr=j* “It is after I came into existence that what exists came into existence.” But whereas Example 34, stresses that all beings came into existence very soon after the god came into existence, the second statement emphasizes, because they followed one another closely, that the god was first.

¹⁰¹ Alessandro ROCCATI in *Dio nella bibbia e nelle culture ad essa contemporanee e connesse* (Turin, 1980), 230. This example is quoted in several of the studies listed in n. 10. I have not seen the original.

¹⁰² For *hpr.n=f*—a *sdm.n=f* of an intransitive verb—as adverbial verb form, see, for instance, VERNUS, “Formes emphatiques” [see n. 1], 73 n. 9.

^cH^c.N *SDM.N=F*

37 A construction that needs to be discussed here is ^ch^c.n *sdm.n=f* and its “sisters.” The compound verb form ^ch^c.n *sdm.n=f* consists of two *sdm.n=f* forms. But its “sisters” show the two *sdm.n=f* forms to be of different sorts.

On the one hand, there is an instance of the form ^ch^c.n.tw in the first component of this compound verb form.¹⁰³ The form *sdm.n.tw=f* is always substantival. *SDm.n.tw=f* is normally rendered as a passive, but when the verb is intransitive, as is the case here with ^ch^c “rise,” or when the transitive verb has no undergoer, it is best rendered as impersonal (“one”), which is also etymologically the original meaning of the element *tw*: see for example, *jr.n.tw hft ddt.n.f* “It was in according with what he had said that one acted” (Louvre C 286, 25).¹⁰⁴

On the other hand, statives can function as the second component in the construction. This shows that *sdm.n=f* in ^ch^c.n *sdm.n=f* is adverbial. Such is the analysis of ^ch^c.n *sdm.n=f* according to the Standard Theory.

38 A literal translation of ^ch^c.n *sdm.n=f*, then, should take into account that ^ch^c.n is a substantival verb form and therefore emphasizes an adverbial element that follows. Since ^ch^c.n is not accompanied by complements, the emphasized element

¹⁰³ ^ch^c.n.tw h^cw “Then there was rejoicing,” literally: “Then one rejoiced” (Louvre C 12), quoted by POLOTSKY, “Les transpositions du verbe” [see n. 15], 33, 33 n. 57.

¹⁰⁴ Quoted by POLOTSKY, “The Emphatic *sdm.n.f* Form” [see n. 10], 113 = *Collected Papers* [see n. 10], 47.

must be $\dot{s}dm.n=f$, which is indeed adverbial (see § 37). The construction ${}^c h^c.n \text{ } \dot{s}dm.n=f$ can therefore be translated as "It is after he had heard that he stood up." To translate otherwise would contradict some basic tenets of the Standard Theory. But this literal translation is problematic.¹⁰⁵

39 "It is after he had heard that he stood up," as a translation of ${}^c h^c.n \text{ } \dot{s}dm.n=f$, is characterized by the three peculiar features already discussed above (see § 8).

1. One would expect the rising (${}^c h^c$) to *precede* the hearing ($\dot{s}dm$), not the other way around, as the literal translation suggests. This expectation is confirmed by parallels of the Egyptian construction in other languages.¹⁰⁶

2. The contrastive emphasis resting on "after he had heard" seems baseless.

3. The primary action, hearing, is subordinated to the secondary action, rising.

One point that is noteworthy in parallels of the construction ${}^c h^c.n \text{ } \dot{s}dm.n=f$ outside Egyptian is that the two actions involved are presented as belonging closely together. In the following example from colloquial Arabic, for instance, the

¹⁰⁵ JUNGE, "Emphasis" and Sentential Meaning [see n. 10], 55 n. 49 also points to this problem. Some suggestions for translating ${}^c h^c.n \text{ } \dot{s}dm.n=f$ have been as follows: "Als er aufgestanden war, that er dies und das" (Adolf ERMAN, " ${}^c h^c.n$ und die ihm analogen Formen," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 27 [1889]: 29–39, at 37); "He rose up and heard" (GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar* [see n. 52], 391 § 476); "He stood up having heard" (POLOTSKY, "Egyptian Tenses" [see n. 10], 21 n. 55 = Idem, *Collected Papers* [see n. 10], 91 n. 55; GARDINER's suggestion is also considered); "Mon état à ce moment-là se trouva caractérisé par la circonstance concomitante d'avoir fait," as a rendering of ${}^c h^c.n=j \text{ } jr.n=j$ (POLOTSKY, "Les transpositions du verbe" [see n. 15], 36 § 3.8.4).

¹⁰⁶ See, for instance, ERMAN, " ${}^c h^c.n$ und die ihm analogen Formen" [see n. 105], 37–38; Albertyna DEMBSKA, "Some Remarks Concerning the Meaning of the Verb ${}^c h^c$," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 44.1 (1985): 93–104.

two actions are coordinated without an equivalent of “and” intervening: *ḵumtē ḵa^cadtē šuwaiye* “Then I sat down a little” (literally: “Then I stood up and sat down a little”).¹⁰⁷ Though the rising comes first, the “asyndetic” character of the construction indicates that the rising is closely linked to the following action. In Part I, the absence of elements was described as a means of presenting individual actions as components of a single compound action.¹⁰⁸

Along the same lines, it is suggested here that *ḥ^c.n sdm.n=f*, at least in its original meaning, is also an expression presenting two actions that are intimately connected. But unlike in the Arabic example above, this close bond is not expressed by *conjunction*—a grammatical category discussed in Part I—but by *contiguity*, which indicates that the rising and hearing succeeded one another rapidly, to the point of overlapping: “As soon as he stood up he heard”; “When he stood up, he heard.” The meaning of *ḥ^c* “rise, stand” in *ḥ^c.n sdm.n=f* has weakened, however, to that of an ingressive impetus immediately preceding if not coinciding with the second action.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ The example is quoted by ERMAN, “*ḥ^c.n* und die ihm analogen Formen” [see n. 105], 38; it is obvious that *qām* “rise,” used here in conjunction with the verb “sit,” must have weakened to ingressive meaning. Also notice the absence of *wa* “and” in Biblical Hebrew *qūmū š’ū* “Get going” (Genesis 19:14).

¹⁰⁸ See, for instance, §§ 14 and 68 of Part I.

¹⁰⁹ For constructions with *ḥ^c* in Late Egyptian, see, for instance, Jean-Marie KRUCHTEN, “*ḥ^c, ḥmsj et sḍr en néo-égyptien*,” *Göttinger Miszellen*, 84 (1985): 33–39, at 35.

EXCURSUS: *JWJ* "COME" AND *JNJ* "BRING"

40 A remarkable difference in idiom between Egyptian and English is that, in English, one says, "He came and brought a friend" or "He came bringing a friend," but in Egyptian, "He came having brought a friend."¹¹⁰ Though this idiom does not express contiguity—the first verb, *jwj/jjj* "come," is not substantival—it is discussed here because it shares with examples discussed previously the property that, from the point of view of the modern observer, the order of the events seems inverted at first sight.

In reality coming and bringing do not occur in sequence but simultaneously: someone comes and at the same time causes something to come along, that is, brings something. But the linearity of the speaking and writing process makes it necessary to present the two actions in a certain order.

The order in which "come" and "bring" are presented depends on the idiom of each individual language. In English, one says "Come and bring a friend." The Egyptian idiom, however, is "Bring a friend and come," as appears from the following example.

¹¹⁰ The verb form used in Middle Egyptian is *jn.n=f*, in Late Egyptian *jw jn=f*; both are adverbial. For this construction, see William F. EDGERTON, "The Strikes in Ramses III's Twenty-ninth Year," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 10 (1951): 137–45, at 140 n. 20; HINTZE, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache* [see n. 63], 57; WENTE, "A Late Egyptian Emphatic Tense" [see n. 54], 306 n. 19; Jaroslav ČERNÝ, "A Special Case of the Verbal Construction *jw sdm.f* in Egyptian," in *Studies in Egyptology and Linguistics in Honour of H.J. Polotsky* (Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society, 1964), 81–85; POLOTSKY, "Egyptian Tenses" [see n. 10], 5 § 11, 5 n. 8 = Idem, *Collected Papers* [see n. 10], 75 § 11, 75 n. 8.



jn t3y=k hwt mtw=k jjj "Come and bring your chapter."
Literally: "Bring your chapter and come."¹¹¹

It follows that, when *jnj* "bring" is *subordinated* to *jwj/jjj* "come," it must be presented as *anterior*. In other words, the statement "Bring a friend and come," reported in a narrative, turns into "He came having brought a friend."

41 The verb *jnj* is often translated as "fetch" to account for the peculiarity described in § 40. The difference between "fetch" and "bring" is that "fetch" refers to a *double* movement whereas "bring" signifies a *single* movement.

When one fetches something, one first goes out to get it and then returns, bringing it back to the point of departure and covering the same path twice. "Fetch" and "bring" have in common that the end point of the motion is the place where the speaker or "I" person is located; but with "fetch", both the starting point and the end point coincide with the location of the speaker.

FETCH	BRING
"I" person ———>	"I" person
is here ✕ <————	is here ✕ <————

There are many examples, however, in which *jnj* refers to a single movement. In *Wenamun*, 2,8, for instance, the prince of Byblos asks Wenamun, "What have you brought (*jnj*)

¹¹¹ Jaroslav ČERNÝ, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh*, vol. 5, Documents de fouilles publiées par les Membres de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire 7 (Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1951), Plate 26, No. 438, verso, line 2. This example is quoted by ČERNÝ, "A Special Case of the Verbal Construction *jw sdm.f* in Egyptian" [see n. 110], 84.

for me (from Egypt)?" It seems obvious that Wenamun has not traversed the path between Byblos and Egypt twice, because he began his journey in Egypt. On the other hand, this passage is immediately followed by the statement "(The prince) had the daybook brought (*jnj*).¹¹²" In this case, a servant apparently went out and brought the daybook, returning in his own footsteps. It is tempting to translate *jnj* here as "fetch," though "bring," referring only to the second part of the servant's movement, is also a possible translation. "Bring" is preferred here because it provides a consistent translation for *all* examples of *jnj*, including *Wenamun*, 2,8.

The rendering "fetch" was proposed for *jnj* in order to explain the peculiar expression involving both "come" and "bring" discussed above.¹¹² However, it seems this expression is sufficiently explained by the fact that, when bringing and coming occur together, bringing *precedes* coming in Egyptian idiom, making it unnecessary to assume the meaning "fetch," instead of "bring," for *jnj*.

¹¹² ČERNÝ, "A Special Case of the Verbal Construction *ju sdm.f* in Egyptian" [see n. 110].

SIMULTANEITY AS AN EXPRESSION OF CONTIGUITY

42 Passages discussed in previous sections show how *anteriority* is used as a means of hyperbole to refer to contiguous events. But also *simultaneity* is employed with the same effect, though the hyperbole is evidently less forceful.¹¹³

Here a construction frequent in Late Egyptian can be classified. It consists of the form *wnn=f hr sdm* followed by *ju=f hr (tm) sdm*. This construction, which seems to have taken on a life of its own in Late Egyptian, derives probably from a Middle Egyptian syntagm consisting of a substantival form *wnn=f hr sdm* and an adverbial form *ju=f hr sdm*.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ For simultaneity as an expression of contiguity, see POLOTSKY, "Egyptian Tenses" [see n. 10], 9–10 n. 19, 10 § 21 = Idem, *Collected Papers* [see n. 10], 79–80 n. 19, 80 § 21; WENTE, "A Late Egyptian Emphatic Tense" [see n. 54], 5 n. 35; Mordechai GILULA, "Coffin Texts Spell 148," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 57 (1971): 14–19, at 14, 18 n. 32. Ariel SHISHA-HALEVY, *Coptic Grammatical Categories: Structural Studies in the Syntax of Shenoutean Sahidic*, *Analecta Orientalia* 53 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1986), 94 n. 127, refers to Hermann PAUL, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* (Halle a.S.: Verlag von Max Niemeyer, 1920⁶), 297–99 § 210, and to Otto JESPERSEN, *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles*, vol. 5 (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1940), 355–57 § 21.210. From Fr. BLASS, *Der Ausdruck der zeitlichen Unmittelbarkeit*, *Romanica Helvetica* 68 (Bern: Francke, 1960), SHISHA-HALEVY quotes the following statement (from the German): "Two events follow one another so rapidly that they become almost simultaneous. That is hyperbole. How can this hyperbole be strengthened? How can one exaggerate even more?" That there are ways of "exaggerating even more" is borne out by evidence presented in previous chapters showing that anteriority can also be used to express contiguity.

¹¹⁴ POLOTSKY, "Egyptian Tenses" [see n. 10], 9–10 n. 19 end = Idem, *Collected Papers* [see n. 10], 79–80 n. 19 end. See also Klaus BAER, "Temporal *wnn* in Late Egyptian," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 51 (1965): 137–43

43 Frequent in Late Egyptian letters is the expression *wnn t3jj=j š^ct hr spr r=k* “When my letter will reach you” followed by instances of *jw=f hr (tm) sdm* “you will do such and such a thing.” Literally, such examples are to be translated as “It is while you are doing such and such a thing that my letter will reach you”; or, “that my letter will reach you is while you are (already) doing such and such a thing.”

The addressee obviously cannot embark upon the action requested in the letter until the letter has arrived and has been read. Yet the fact that the execution of an action is linked to the arrival of the letter reveals a certain desire that the action be performed soon after the reading of the letter. In some sense, the act of reading already sets into motion the mental preparation for undertaking the action requested. In brief, contiguity plays a role in the expression under discussion. It is signified by presenting the arrival of the letter and the execution of the action as *simultaneous* while in fact they are *successive*. A free translation therefore is "As soon as my letter reaches you, you will do such and such a thing."

44 Other examples of this construction are as follows.

Example 35



(with numerous examples); Pascal VERNUS, "Deux particularités de l'Égyptien de tradition: *nty lw* + Présent 1; *wnn.f hr sdm* narratif," in: *L'Égyptologie en 1979: Axes prioritaires de recherches*, Colloques internationaux du Centre national de la recherche scientifique 595 (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1982).

The negation of the second verb form in this construction is *ju=f hr tm sdm*, not *ju bn sw hr sdm*. In this respect, the form has departed from its origin as a Middle Egyptian adverbial verb form.

wnn °*g3wt=f hr ptpt jwntyw jw* °*b=f hr khb jm=sn* "No sooner will his shoes trample the tribesmen than his horn prick them" (*Kubban Stela* [see n. 59], 5). Literally: "That his shoes will trample the tribesmen is while his horn is (already) pricking them." Example 33, an expression of past contiguity, precedes this example.

Example 36



wn=tn hr °*q r p3 dmjt jw=tn hr wn* "As soon as you enter the city, you will open. . . ." (*The Taking of Joppa*, 2,8 = *Late-Egyptian Stories* [see n. 63], 84,1)

An early example, possibly dating to Year 3 of Kamose's reign, is as follows.

Example 37



wnn=f hr hdb jw=j hr s°nh "No sooner does he kill than I revive." (*Stela of Emḥab*,¹¹⁵ 11–12)

45 The following example is related in structure and meaning to the expression described in §§ 40 and 41. It consists of an unambiguous substantival form followed by an unequivocal

¹¹⁵ For publication of the text and discussion of its date, see Jaroslav ČERNÝ, "Stela of Emḥab from Tell Edfu," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*, 24 (1969): 87–92. The example is also quoted by Pascal VERNUS, "Études de philologie et de linguistique," *Revue d'Égyptologie*, 34 (1982–83): 115–28, at 120.

adverbial form and must therefore be translated literally as “It is while he is listening that they weep.”

Example 38



rrm=sn jw=f hr sdm “When they weep, he listens” (*The Instruction Addressed to King Merikare*, pCarlsberg VI,¹¹⁶ 5,7). Or, “As soon as they weep, he listens.”

This example, in turn, resembles the following specimen of a formula attested in many variations in the Coffin Texts:¹¹⁷ *pr=sn r pt m bjkw pr=j hr dnḥw=sn* (*Coffin Texts* [see n. 28], III 24c–25b B2Bo). It is tempting to translate this example as “No sooner do they ascend to heaven like falcons than I ascend with them on their wings,” interpreting *pr=j* as an adverbial form and the construction as expressing contiguity.

Within the same Coffin Text formula, it is common to find variation between the construction just mentioned and the “Wechselsatz,” that is, a nominal sentence with a substantival verb form functioning as each of its two nominal components. Version S1C contains the following variant of the example cited above: *prr=sn r pt m bjkw prr=j r dñhw=sn* “Whenever they ascend to heaven like falcons, I ascend with them” (literally, “That they ascend to heaven like falcons’ means ‘that I ascend with them on their wings’”).

¹¹⁶ Aksel VOLTEN, *Zwei altägyptische politische Schriften*, *Analecta Aegyptiaca* 4 (Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard, 1945).

¹¹⁷ For a detailed study of this formula and its many mutations see NICCACCII, "Su una formula dei 'Testi dei Sarcophagi'" [see n. 40] (though with a different interpretation of the example discussed here). Cf. also Jean Louis DE CENIVAL, "Sur la forme *sdm.f* à redoublement ou *mrr.f*," *Revue d'Égyptologie*, 24 (1972): 40–45, at 44.

Apparently, the “Wechselsatz” signifies the close ties between the two successive actions by declaring—not without some measure of hyperbole in its own right—the two actions to be identical, whereas the construction expressing contiguity achieves a similar effect by presenting—in similarly exaggerated fashion—the second action as producing itself at the very same time as the first.

AN EXPRESSION OF CONTIGUITY DATING TO THE NEW KINGDOM

46 From the Eighteenth Dynasty onward, a remarkable construction made its appearance in Egyptian. This construction consists of a *sdm=f* form of an intransitive verb followed by a *sdm.n=f* form of a transitive verb.

An example is the following formula heading Hymns to the Sun.

Example 39



wbn=k shd.n=k t3wy

In discussions of instances of this construction,¹¹⁸ three observations have been made.

(1) The *sdm.n=f* seems *subordinate* to the preceding *sdm=f*.

(2) The event expressed by the *sdm.n=f* is *posterior* to—or at least *simultaneous* with—the event expressed by the initial *sdm=f*. For instance, in the formula quoted above, the sun cannot illumine the Two Lands *before* rising.

¹¹⁸ For a survey, bibliography, and further discussion, see Jan ASSMANN, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott*, Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 19 (Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling, 1969), 292–95 (see also 353–59). I am grateful to Wolfgang SCHENKEL for having drawn my attention to this construction.

(3) Since a *sdm.n=f* that is subordinate to a preceding verb form as a rule expresses an *anterior* event, the grammatical interpretation of the *sdm.n=f* as subordinate (see [1] above) is *in conflict* with the natural sequence of the events expressed by the construction (see [2] above).

Various explanations have been offered to resolve this conflict. In what follows, it is argued that the construction at hand is yet another expression of contiguity.

If so, it would need to be shown that the initial *sdm=f* is substantival and emphasizes the following *sdm.n=f*, which would then be adverbial.

47 As has been mentioned above, the initial *sdm=f* in the construction under discussion is always that of an intransitive verb.

Now, it has been demonstrated that, in the Late Egyptian of literary and monumental texts, the past *sdm=f* of verbs of motion and many other intransitive verbs descends from Middle Egyptian initial *sdm.n=f* and is therefore substantival, emphasizing a following adverb, adverbial phrase, or adverbial clause.¹¹⁹

This past *sdm=f* of intransitive verbs in literary and monumental texts corresponds to *j.jr=f sdm* in contemporary non-literary texts, in which the past *sdm=f* is entirely restricted to transitive verbs.¹²⁰

48 It is therefore eminently plausible that the initial *sdm=f* in the construction under discussion, being also restricted to intransitive verbs and occurring in texts of the New Kingdom, is a feature of Late Egyptian and is, in fact, a substantival form.

¹¹⁹ WENTE, "A Late Egyptian Emphatic Tense" [see n. 54], with numerous examples.

¹²⁰ GROLL, "*lw sdm.f* in Late Egyptian" [see n. 54], 185.

If so, the initial *sdm=f* emphasizes a following adverbial element. And the only candidate for receiving emphasis in the formula mentioned above (§ 41), *wbn=k shd.n=k t3wy*, and in many other instances of the same construction, is the following *sdm.n=f* form, which is therefore adverbial.

The literal meaning of the formula would therefore be "It is after you have illumined the Two Lands that you have risen." The presentation of the events in reversed order may then be interpreted as an expression of contiguity: "No sooner have you risen than you have illumined the Two Lands" or "When you have risen, you have illumined the Two Lands."

In view of §§ 17–19, it is worth noting that *wbn* refers to a transition from night to day.

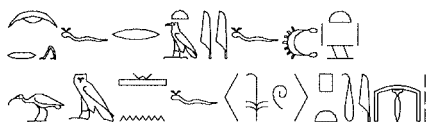
49 According to this interpretation, the *sdm.n=f* in the construction is adverbial, descending from the Middle Egyptian adverbial *sdm.n=f*.

This is supported by the fact that only the *sdm.n=f* of *transitive* verbs is found in the construction. Indeed, the past adverbial verb form of most intransitive verbs corresponding to the adverbial *sdm.n=f* of transitive verbs would have to be the stative.

Sequences in Hymns to the Sun consisting of an initial *sdm=f* of an intransitive verb followed by the stative of an intransitive verb are therefore potentially instances of the same construction discussed here.

50 The contrast between the initial past *sdm=f* and the following past *sdm.n=f* would also mean that Middle Egyptian substantival *sdm.n=f* and adverbial *sdm.n=f* evolved differently in certain texts, the former loosing *n* in writing when the latter retained it.

In fact, contrast between absence and presence of *n* is also found in Example 20 cited in § 27, containing contiguous events and featuring the verb *spr* "reach," which is prone to occur in sentences expressing contiguity.



spr=f r t3y=f jht gm.n=f <sw> pt.tj “No sooner did he arrive at his holding than he found it destroyed” (*pLansing*, 6,7 = *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* [see n. 83], 105,6–7). Or: “Upon his arrival at his holding, he found it destroyed.”

As one can see, *spr=f*, the *sdm=f* of an intransitive verb, is followed by *gm.n=f*, the *sdm.n=f* of a transitive verb.

III

Contingency

The first change to be made in the traditional syllogism is to state it in the form: "If all men are mortal and Socrates is a man, then Socrates is mortal."
Bertrand Russell, *Introduction to Mathematical Philosophy*

The verb forms under investigation are Middle Egyptian $sdm.jn=f$, $sdm.hr=f$, and $sdm.k3=f$. The forms are defined here as contingent tenses. Contingency is the property of being dependent upon conditions. The verb forms $sdm.jn=f$, $sdm.hr=f$ and $sdm.k3=f$ indicate that the events to which they refer only occur *if* or *on the condition that* other events take place; or, other events serve as the conditions that need to be fulfilled for events expressed by $sdm.jn=f$, $sdm.hr=f$, and $sdm.k3=f$ to happen. The conditions themselves may be made explicit in a protasis, usually introduced by *jr* "if." Quite often, however, the conditions on which $sdm.jn=f$, $sdm.hr=f$, and $sdm.k3=f$ depend are *not explicitly mentioned* and need to be inferred from the context.

Two characteristics typify past treatment of $sdm.jn=f$, $sdm.hr=f$, and $sdm.k3=f$. First, multiple functions are usually attributed to these verb forms. Second, among the terms often used to refer to one of those functions are "result" and "consequence." As distinct from these two views, it is emphasized

that the unity of the function of each verb form individually and of the three verb forms collectively and, second, it is maintained that terms such as "result" and "consequence," which refer to a relationship of cause and effect, are unsatisfactory for defining that function.

The single word concept chosen here to refer to the function of *sdm.jn=f*, *sdm.hr=f*, and *sdm.k3=f* is "contingency," that is, "dependency on conditions." What does contingency mean with regard to verb forms? How does a contingent verb form differ from a non-contingent verb form?

Using a verb form expressing contingency did not demand from the ancient Egyptian, educated and uneducated alike, a complex philosophical understanding of relations between occurrences. The context in which a contingent tense occurs may be illustrated by a simple example. In considering an event such as going to the beach tomorrow, one may wish to assert in a plain statement of fact, "I will go the beach tomorrow." On the other hand, certain factors may lead the speaker to become aware, in thinking about the trip to the beach, that this happening is dependent on another event, for instance, that the sun will shine. One can make that other event explicit in a conditional clause headed by "if": "If the sun shines, I will go the beach tomorrow." Or one can leave the condition implied and use "then" or "if so": "If so (that is, if the sun shines), I will go to the beach tomorrow." It is important to note that the semantic component "if so" is *an authentic part of the meaning* of Egyptian contingent verb forms.

It is sensible to suppose that human beings, in considering events happening around them, will occasionally be overcome by the sensation that an event cannot happen if some other event has not happened before. It is this sensation that triggers the use of a contingent tense.

Although, logically speaking, every event depends in one way or another on the occurrence of previous events, the specific flow of discourse only occasionally creates a need to

make this dependency explicit. Whenever this need arises, a contingent tense is used in Middle Egyptian.

As already intimated above, the relation of contingency between events and the conditions on which they depend differs from the relation of causality between causes and their effects. Three objections to describing the function of *sdm.jn=f*, *sdm.hr=f*, and *sdm.k3=f* in terms of a causal relationship are as follows.

1. Terms such as "effect," "consequence," "result," "outcome," "upshot," "sequel," and "consummation" involve the working of an agent. However, in a statement like "If the sun shines, I will go to the beach tomorrow," sunshine does not lead inevitably to my going to the beach. The fact that I may decide at the last moment not to go to the beach, even if tomorrow is a sunny day, shows that sunshine is not the cause of my trip to the beach, and hence the latter not the consequence of the former. "If the sun shines, I will go to the beach tomorrow" expresses that sunshine is a "must," a condition that has to be fulfilled, for me to go to the beach. Likewise, the syllogism cited above in a variant formulated by Russell, states that, for Socrates to be mortal, two conditions need to be fulfilled: Socrates must be a man and men must be mortal. According to this variant of the formula, the mortality of mankind and Socrates' belonging to mankind do not result in his mortality or have his mortality as a consequence.

2. Contingency involves an element of uncertainty, whereas causality does not. The element of uncertainty in a contingent relationship is that, when A is a condition of B, B may either happen or not happen. In a causal relationship, on the other hand, when A is a cause of B, A always inevitably leads to B. But what is certain in a relationship of contingency is that, for B to happen, A must have occurred.

3. Viewing *sdm.jn=f*, *sdm.hr=f*, and *sdm.k3=f* in terms of a causal relationship places relationships between events at the center. However, the proper focus of any study of *sdm.jn=f*,

sdm.hr=f, and *sdm.k3=f* ought to be a set of verb forms and their meaning or function. Though the meaning of these verb forms may imply a certain relationship with other events, it should be possible to consider the forms in isolation. Relationships between statements about events are studied in abstraction by logicians trying to determine what constitutes a true statement.

What is it, then, that *causes* me to go to the beach tomorrow? Answering this question would require a discussion of the very notions cause and effect, which falls outside the scope of this study. The terms have only been discussed here because they have played a role in traditional definitions of *sdm.jn=f*, *sdm.hr=f*, and *sdm.k3=f*. In fact, the very notions of cause and effect, which have been all-pervasive of human thought since Aristotle, have not always been beyond dispute in modern times.

It is important to emphasize that the elementary understanding of contingency proposed here, that is, the perception of the conditionality of certain occurrences and the ability of the ancient Egyptian to report this conditionality by using special verb forms, does not require a higher comprehension of the relationship between events. The definition of *sdm.jn=f*, *sdm.hr=f*, and *sdm.k3=f* states that ancient Egyptians occasionally experienced the conditionality of certain events and gave expression to this experience by using special verb forms. Obviously, these events contract a relationship with the events on which they are dependent, but in turning this relationship into the independent object of a logical study about relationships between statements about events, the modern observer abandons the study of human speech as a social phenomenon and enters into the formal study of logic.

The line of argument that will be followed here is roughly as follows. In Step 1, it is observed that *sdm.hr=f* and *sdm.k3=f* are often preceded by conditional clauses headed by *jr* "if." In Step 2, it is asked whether this striking feature is

relevant to the function of *sdm.hr=f* and *sdm.k3=f*. In Step 3, it is assumed that, if that feature is to be relevant, a condition ought to be implied in all instances of *sdm.hr=f* and *sdm.k3=f* in which none is made explicit. Step 4 involves the investigation of a significant number of instances in which no explicit condition precedes *sdm.hr=f* and *sdm.k3=f* in an attempt to determine whether a condition needs to be or at least can be implied. In Step 5, it is concluded that, in some instances, it is necessary to assume such a condition, whereas in all other instances, it is at least plausible; contingency can therefore account for the function of *sdm.hr=f* and *sdm.k3=f* in a coherent, comprehensive, and relatively simple manner.

Very instructive are examples in which the form *sdm.hr=f* appears at the beginning of a text immediately following a title. This is a context which may at first seem incompatible with a contingent relationship since there are no preceding events on which *sdm.hr=f* could depend. An example is found in a medical treatise preserved in *pSmith*, 21,9–10. The title of the section is “Beginning of the book of making an old man into a young one.” Then the text opens with a reference to bringing and pounding salt, both stated in the verb form *sdm.hr=f*. If the title of the section had been lost, one would justly have wondered, Why bring and pound salt? The fact that the first sentence can only be understood in association with the title shows that there is a connection between the title and the first sentence. Moreover, it seems clear that this connection is one of contingency in the sense that salt is brought and pounded and all the other actions in the same section are performed *if* one wishes to make an old man into a young one. In translation, contingency can be here expressed by expressions such as “then,” “if so,” or “in such a case”: “Beginning of the book of making an old man into a young one: In such a case, salt is brought and . . . it is pounded. . . .”

A second example occurs in the medical treatise preserved in *pEbers*, 93,17–18. It is quoted below in full as Example 1 in § 9. The title of the section is “Perceiving

(literally, seeing) bad milk." The title is followed by a single statement referring to the event of "your perceiving that its smell is like the stench of fish." The verb is in the *sdm.hr=f* form. Had the title perished, the interpretation of the self-contained reference to "your perceiving that the smell (of bad milk) is like the stench of fish" would be problematic (I am disregarding the fact that the referent of "its," namely "bad milk," would be lost together with the title). As in the previous example, the connection between the title and the sentence following it is best understood as one of contingency. The implied condition can be derived from the phrase "bad milk" by interpreting it as "the milk *if* it is bad." The result is an interpretation that is in harmony with the diagnostic nature of the treatise: "Perceiving bad milk: You perceive that its smell (, if it is bad,) is like the stench of fish." The diagnostic process involves options—different symptoms presuppose different conditions—and hence *uncertainty*. The medical treatises help the reader to make a successful diagnosis by reversing the order of condition and symptom, stating hypothetically and conditionally which symptom can be observed *if* a given condition applies. The statement that bad milk *leads to* or *causes* the perception of a stench is meaningful in its own right but would not suit the hypothetical character of diagnostic statements.

Step 6 is a largely theoretical attempt to connect *sdm.jn=f* functionally with its morphological partners *sdm.hr=f* and *sdm.k3=f*. The fact that *sdm.jn=f* is used in the same way as *sdm.hr=f* in the medicine texts, though in the aorist tense, establishes a link between *sdm.jn=f*, on the one hand, and *sdm.hr=f* and *sdm.k3=f*, on the other, that goes beyond their similarity in morphological structure. However, *sdm.jn=f* is more commonly used as a past narrative tense. In order also to bring the narrative use of *sdm.jn=f* in line with the contingent function of *sdm.hr=f* and *sdm.k3=f*, it is pointed out that the events of a narrative sequence can be regarded as depending on each other in the sense that one event must have

happened for the next to occur. It is conjectured, then, that occasionally there may be a need to make this contingent relation explicit. Apparently, this often happens at the beginning of sections, where a chain of successive events has come to an end. With the form *sdm.jn=f*, the narrative takes a breath, after a manner of speaking. The *sdm.jn=f* signifies that the new segment has to be viewed against the background of what went before.

Circumstantial evidence will occasionally be brought to bear. For instance, in a certain variant of a formula quoted at § 25, the emergence of a *jr*-clause seems to trigger the use of *sdm.k3=f*. Moreover, future contingency appears in Coptic in a different form, lending support to the assumption that specific contingency is a valid category of earlier Egyptian (§ 31). And finally, the fact that *hr* and *k3* can be variants in different versions of a single passage points to their similarity in function (see second and third examples in § 20 and n. 37).

SDM.ḤR=F/HḤR=F SDM=F AS CONTINGENT AORIST

A. From Egyptian ḥr to Coptic ša

1 The Coptic conjugation base *šare/ša=* is probably related to the morpheme *ḥr* found in pre-Coptic verb forms such as Middle Egyptian *sdm.ḥr=f* and *ḥr=f sdm=f*.¹ But a comparison reveals that a significant change in function has taken place from Middle Egyptian *sdm.ḥr=f* to Coptic *ša=f-sōtm*.

2 This shift in function from *ḥr* to *ša* is obvious when one studies the verb forms expressing action B in statements of the type "Whoever does A does B." Action B can be expressed in Coptic by the aorist *ša=f-sōtm*.²

n-et-site hn t-prō ša=u-ōsh hm p-šōm "Those who sow in the winter harvest in the summer." (*The Gospel According to Philip*,³ Nag Hammadi Codex II 52:25)

¹ The difference between *sdm.ḥr=f* and *ḥr=f sdm=f* will be ignored; they behave alike with regard to the feature discussed here; *sdm.ḥr=f* will be used for convenience's sake to refer to both; *ḥr sdm=f* appears after Middle Egyptian. Pascal VERNUS concludes from an exhaustive collection of examples that "*ḥr*-headed constructions are the diachronic successors of *sdm.ḥr=f/wn.ḥr=f*" (*Future at Issue. Tense, Mood and Aspect in Middle Egyptian: Studies in Syntax and Semantics*, Yale Egyptological Studies 4 [New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar, 1990], 71).

² For additional instances, see Émile CHASSINAT, *Le quatrième livre des entretiens et épîtres de Shenouti*, Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire 23 (Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1911) 37,46–49; 57,12–15; 73,34–39; 73,54–58; 166,12–16; 186,11–15.

³ Edited by Bentley LAYTON in *Nag Hammadi Codex II*, 2–7, ed.

The Middle Egyptian form found in this position is not *sdm.hr=f*, etymological predecessor of *ša=f-sōtm*, but the *ju=f sdm=f* and its negative counterpart *n sdm.n=f*.⁴ Most instances of this construction belong to the following patterns.

<i>jr</i>	+	participle	+	<i>ju=f sdm=f</i>
<i>jr s nb</i>		relative clause		<i>n sdm.n=f</i>

Examples from the Coffin Texts⁵ are as follows.⁶



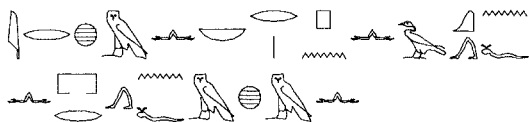
jr <r>h r pn ju=f h3=f r Sh-t-j3rw [. . .] ju dj.tw n=f

Idem, 2 vols. (Nag Hammadi Studies 20 and 21; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), vol. 1, 142–214.

⁴ Cf. H.J. POLOTSKY, “Randbemerkungen,” in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens* (Festschrift for Wolfhart Westendorf) (Göttingen, 1984), vol. 1, 113–23, at 122.

⁵ Adriaan DE BUCK, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 7 vols., The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 34, 49, 64, 67, 73, 81, 87 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1935–61).

⁶ Other examples are *The Instruction addressed to Kagemni* (Alan H. GARDINER, “The Instruction Addressed to Kagemni and His Brethren,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 32 [1946]: 71–74), 1,10–11; *The Instruction of Ptahhotep* (Gustave JÉQUIER, *Le Papyrus Prisse et ses variantes* [Paris: P. Geuthner, 1911]), 9,5–6; *pEbers* (Hermann GRAPOW, *Die medizinischen Texte in hieroglyphischer Umschreibung autographiert*, Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter [Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958]), 47,8–10, but reading *jr jrr* for *jr jr.tw* with the parallel in *pHearst; Eloquent Peasant* (F. VOGELSANG and Alan H. GARDINER, *Die Klagen des Bauern*, Literarische Texte des Mittleren Reiches 1 = Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin 4 [Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1908]), B2,101–2; *Book of the Dead* (E.A. Wallis BUDGE, *The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day or the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead*, 3 vols. [London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1910]), Chapter 136A, Papyrus of Nu, 21–24.



jr ḥm nb r pn n 'q.n=f n pr.n=f m ḥm "Whoever does not know this spell neither enters nor leaves because he is ignorant (literally, as an ignorant)."

(*Coffin Texts*, IV 326k T2Be)

3 The verb forms $\dot{s}a=f\text{-}\dot{s}\ddot{o}tm$ and $jw=f\text{-}s\dot{d}m=f$ referring to action B in "Whoever does A does B" can both be defined as aorists.⁷ The term "aorist" derives from Greek *a-horos*, which means "limit-less." "Aorist" is particularly suited as a designation for $\dot{s}a=f\text{-}\dot{s}\ddot{o}tm$ and $jw=f\text{-}s\dot{d}m=f$, perhaps more so than for the Greek verb form which bears the same name. Both $\dot{s}a=f\text{-}\dot{s}\ddot{o}tm$ and $jw=f\text{-}s\dot{d}m=f$ refer to events that are not limited to past, present, or future, for instance, "He eats at home." The aorist is used when there is a need *not* to specify whether an action happened in the past, the present, or the future. In referring to the absence of tense, the aorist can be regarded as a "zero-tense."

The best English translation for the aorist is the simple present. It is important to note that the simple present, in spite of its name, is not really a present: "He eats at home" means that he did so yesterday, does so today, and will do so tomorrow. The real present, what happens right now, is expressed by "He is eating at home."

Because the aorist does not specify any point in time, it can be used in proverbs, general statements, and habitual actions. Better known designations for Coptic $\dot{s}a=f\text{-}s\ddot{o}tm$ such as *praesens consuetudinis* suffer the disadvantage of referring only to one usage of the form, not its function. Likewise, it is

⁷ For Coptic $\dot{s}a=f\text{-}\dot{s}\ddot{o}tm$, see H.J. POLOTSKY, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 56 (1959): 460 = Idem, *Collected Papers* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University 1971), 237b.

not because "He eats at home" refers to a habit that the simple present is a habitual form.

4 What can be concluded from the above regarding the evolution from Middle Egyptian *ḥr* to Coptic *ša*?

Since Coptic *ša* is in all probability etymologically related to the morpheme *ḥr* found in the Middle Egyptian verb form *sdm.ḥr=f* (§ 1), and since Middle Egyptian *jw=f sdm=f* is the predecessor of Coptic *ša=f-sōtm* in a given syntactic position (§ 2), it appears that both *jw=f sdm=f* and *sdm.ḥr=f* are related to Coptic *ša=f-sōtm*, the former functionally, the latter etymologically. But an etymological relationship is as a rule not purely morphological but also semantic. It is therefore probable that Middle Egyptian *sdm.ḥr=f* had a meaning that is related to that of Coptic *ša=f-sōtm* and hence to that of *jw=f sdm=f*, the functional equivalent of *ša=f-sōtm* in Middle Egyptian. This meaning must have been sufficiently close to *jw=f sdm=f* to allow forms containing *ḥr* to replace, after a semantic shift, *jw=f sdm=f* in the function of aorist when the latter became obsolete after Middle Egyptian.

A comparison of the functions of *sdm.ḥr=f* and *jw=f sdm=f* within Middle Egyptian is therefore in order.

B. *Sdm.ḥr=f* and *jw=f sdm=f* in Middle Egyptian

5 Middle Egyptian *sdm.ḥr=f* has been defined as an aorist.⁸ If this definition is correct, it must be explained how *sdm.ḥr=f* and *jw=f sdm=f* can both be aorists, as this function is also attributed to *jw=f sdm=f* (§ 3).

It may be assumed that, of the two forms, one served as the general expression of the aorist while the other conveyed a nuance, in other words, that one is an unmarked aorist while the other is marked.

⁸ Friedrich JUNGE, "Zur Funktion des *sdm.ḥr=f*," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 58 (1972): 133-39.

Typically found in specialized contexts, $sdm.hr=f$ is the obvious candidate for marked aorist. The contexts in which the form often appears may provide a clue to defining the nuance it adds to the aorist.

6 The form $sdm.hr=f$ frequently occurs in the apodosis of a protasis introduced by *jr*, as in the following example.



jr swrj=f mw stp.hr=f "If he drinks water, he chokes."
(pSmith,⁹ 9,19–20)

Because $sdm.hr=f$ is an aorist, it only occurs in conditional statements not limited to past, present, or future, that is, statements of the type "If/When X, then (always) Y." An English example is "If it rains, I do not go out." Egyptian medical treatises teem with instances of this kind of conditional statement, as can be expected in this genre of text.

7 In conditional sentences restricted to a certain point in time, $sdm.hr=f$ is not found, as in "If it is raining (now), I am not going out," which does not rule out that I went out in the rain yesterday or will do so tomorrow. In Middle Egyptian, the protasis of this type is introduced by *jr wnn*, in Coptic by *ešje*.¹⁰

8 Since $sdm.hr=f$ often depends on conditions introduced by *jr* and seems to be an aorist, though expressing a special nuance

⁹ Ed. GRAPOW, *Die medizinischen Texte* [see n. 6].

¹⁰ See my "The End of $hr=f$ $sdm=f$ in the Heqanakhte Letters," *Revue d'Égyptologie*, 39 (1988): 206–10, and "Late Egyptian *jnn* 'if' and the Conditional Clause in Egyptian," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 78 (1991): 69–78 (at 72 n. 23, read *ša=f-sōtm*).

of the aorist, it may be conjectured that dependency on conditions is not just a feature of contexts in which *sdm.hr=f* typically appears, but perhaps its very function. As a contingent aorist, *sdm.hr=f* could be distinguished from the general aorist *ju=f sdm=f*. Verifying this hypothesis involves showing that *sdm.hr=f*, when not preceded by an explicit protasis, depends on conditions that can be implied from the context. What follows is a representative selection of such instances. In some examples, the two aorists, *sdm.hr=f* and *ju=f sdm=f*—or the latter's preterite conversion *wn=f sdm=f*—are found in close proximity, evidencing the contrast between the two verb forms.

C. Examples of *sdm.hr=f* with Implied Conditions

9 In the following examples, *sdm.hr=f* is not preceded by a conditional clause, but a condition is implied.

Example 1



m33 jr tt bjnt

m33.hr=k sty=s mj šnj n mhjyt

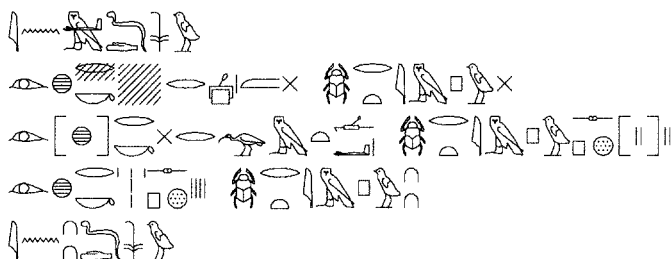
“Perceiving (literally, seeing) bad milk:

You perceive that its smell (, if it is bad,) is like the stench of fish.” (*pEbers* [see n. 6], 93,17–18)

The perception of a bad smell is contingent upon the milk's being bad. If the milk is good, the stench is not perceived. The general aorist **ju=k m33=k sty=s mj šnj n mhjyt* “You perceive that its smell is like the stench of fish” would be a statement addressed to a person who generally recognizes bad milk by its stench. This would be a trivial thing to say, since anyone can smell sour milk.

Example 2

The equation $\frac{1}{2} \times x - \frac{1}{4} \times x = 5$ is solved as follows: (a) $1 - (\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4}) = \frac{1}{4}$; (b) $1 = \frac{1}{4} \times 4$; (c) $5 \times 4 = 20$. Results are in italics. ($\frac{1}{2} \times 20$) - ($\frac{1}{4} \times 20$) is indeed 5.



jn-m dd sw

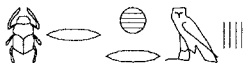
- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| a. | <i>jr.hr=k [. . .] r-s3 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$</i> | <i>hp rt jm pw $\frac{1}{4}$</i> |
| b. | <i>jr.hr=k $\frac{1}{4}$ r gmt w^c</i> | <i>hp rt jm pw sp 4</i> |
| c. | <i>jr.hr=k 5 sp 4</i> | <i>hp rt jm pw 20</i> |
| | <i>jn 20 dd sw</i> | |

“What is x? (Literally: What is it that says it?)

- If so (that is, if the equation is $\frac{1}{2} \times x - \frac{1}{4} \times x = 5$), you calculate [what remains of 1] after (subtracting) $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$. The result (literally, what becomes thereof) is $\frac{1}{4}$.
- Then (that is, if your result is $\frac{1}{4}$), you multiply $\frac{1}{4}$ in order to find 1. The result is 4 times.
- Then (that is, if the result is 4,) you multiply 5 by 4. The result is 20. x is 20 (literally: it is 20 that says it).”
(*pKahun*,¹¹ Plate 8,24–28)

¹¹ Francis Llewelyn GRIFFITH, *The Petrie Papyri: Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1898). Kahun is a time-honored misnomer for al-Lahun (Alexander SCHARFF, “Illahun und die mit Königs-namen des Mittleren Reiches gebildeten Ortsnamen,” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 59 [1924]: 51–55, at 51).

The verb form $\text{sdm.hr}=f$ has often been defined as an expression of results. This definition is largely inspired by examples in which a mathematical result is expressed by $\text{sdm.hr}=f$. A typical example occurs in the mathematical treatise preserved in the Papyrus Rhind.



hpr.hr m 4 "Then it becomes 4." (pRhind,¹² 62,7)

But in Example 2 from the Kahun Papyri, $\text{sdm.hr}=f$ is not used to refer to results but to mathematical operations.¹³ The results are expressed, as always in this text, by hprt jm pw It can be concluded that $\text{sdm.hr}=f$ refers as commonly to operations as to results in mathematical texts. And it follows from this conclusion that the theory that $\text{sdm.hr}=f$ is a verb form expressing results must be abandoned.

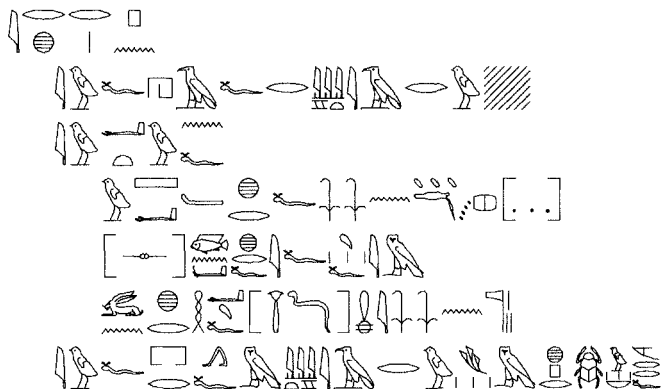
On the other hand, the notion of contingency can account for the appearance of $\text{sdm.hr}=f$ in both operations and results. Let us first consider the example from the Papyrus Rhind in which $\text{sdm.hr}=f$ refers to a result. In this example, $\text{sdm.hr}=f$ expresses that the result "4" is obtained *if* a certain mathematical operation is executed. In other words, the result is formulated in a *contingent statement*. Contingency can also explain the use of $\text{sdm.hr}=f$ in the example from the Kahun Papyri, in which the verb form refers to mathematical operations. Like most ancient Egyptian mathematical texts, the Kahun document is in all probability a teacher's manual. The student, who is addressed in the second person, performs the exercises step by step. Obviously, he can only proceed with a new mathematical operation *if* the correct result has been obtained in the previous

¹² T. Eric PEET, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus: British Museum 10057 and 10058* (Liverpool: The University Press of Liverpool Limited, 1923).

¹³ To account for such instances, it has been customary to assume that $\text{sdm.hr}=f$ has modal function, that is, expresses the speaker's attitude toward the desirability or possibility of events ("You shall calculate . . ."; "You are to calculate . . ."). The difficulty with this assumption is that $\text{sdm.hr}=f$, as an expression of both results and injunctions, would have two rather incompatible functions.

operation, for the steps of the exercise are built on one another. In other words, the execution of each new operation depends on successfully finding the result of the previous operation and is therefore expressed by the contingent aorist sdm.hr=f . For example, 5 is only to be multiplied by 4 if the result of the preceding step is 4, and so forth.

Example 3



jr <*r*>*h* *r pn*

ju=f h3=f r Sh̄t-j3rw [. . .]

ju dj.tw n=f . . .

ws^c.hr=f nn n jt . . .

[*s*] *jn.hr=f j(w)f=f jm*

wn.hr h^cw=f [w3d] mj nn n ntrw

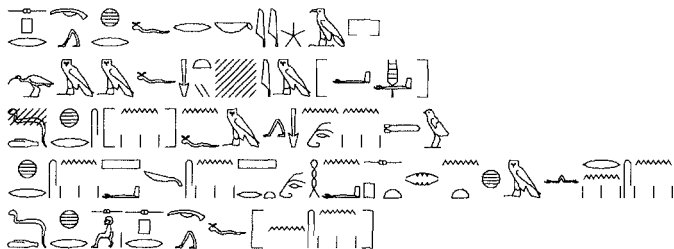
ju=f pr=f m Sh̄t-j3rw m hprw nb mrr=f

“Whoever knows this spell enters the Field of Rushes and (all sorts of food) is given to him. If so, he chews (these foods), rubs his flesh with it, and his body is healthy like that of these gods. (Whoever knows this spell) leaves the Field of Rushes in all transformations he desires.” (*Coffin Texts* [see n. 5], V 199b–200d B10C)

Following the phrase headed by *jr* is a list of six events happening in the Field of Rushes without restriction to past, present, or future to all who know the correct spell. Three events are expressed by *ju=f sdm=f* and three by *sdm.hr=f*. Because the first and sixth

(*ju=f h3=f* and *ju=f pr=f*) are parallel, the first five belong together. The use of two different verbal forms suggests different nuances. If *ju=f sdm=f* is a general aorist and *sdm.hr=f* is a contingent aorist, then chewing barley, rubbing it, and being healthy are contingent on entering the Field and being given food.

Example 4



spr.hr=f r kjj sb3

gmm=f snty [. . .] jm [h^c]

[d]d.hr=s[n] n=f: "mj sn=n tw"

hr=sn š^c=sn šrt hn^c spty nt hm rnw=sn

dd.hr s spr=f [n=sn]

"Then he arrives at another gate. He finds the two sisters standing there. Then they say to him, 'Come, so that we may kiss you.' Then they cut the nose and lips of whoever does not know their names. Then a man says to them when he arrives, '. . .'"

(*Coffin Texts* [see n. 5], V 182b–f B5C)

According to the guide to the hereafter in Spells 404 and 405 of the Coffin Texts, the deceased passes through a number of gates in the netherworld. At each gate, a conversation takes place and the deceased proceeds to the next gate.

Sdm.hr=f is used to signify that the deceased reaches (*spr.hr=f*) the next gate *if* all went well at the previous gate, that the two sisters speak (*dd.hr=sn*) to him *if* he succeeds in reaching that gate, and that the sisters cut off (*hr=sn š^c=sn*) his nose *if* he approaches them (or maybe, if he does not know their name), and so on.

Similar examples occur throughout Spells 404 and 405. Conditional clauses headed by *jr* found at *Coffin Texts*, V 202k and 203g in the same spells confirm that the tenor of the text is that of actions taking place conditionally.

Example 5



wn=j wšd=j ḥmwṯ ḥr=s: “*sbq w(j) nty m bj3 pn*”
ḏd.hr=sn: “*jw mfk3t m ḏw r nhḥ jn-m pw wh3 r tr pn*”
 “I would address the craftsmen concerning this as follows: ‘How fortunate is he who is in this mining region.’ But then (that is, if I would address them), they would say, ‘There is turquoise in the mountains for ever. Who is looking (for it) at this time of the year?’” (*The Inscription of Ḥr-wr-r*^c,¹⁴ 8–10).

This passage contains the compound verb form *wn=f sdm=f*, “He used to hear” or “He would hear,” the preterite conversion of *jw=f sdm=f* “He (generally) hears.” As an aorist, *jw=f sdm=f* refers to events applying *at the present time* without restriction to past, present, or future. As preterite conversion of *jw=f sdm=f*, *wn=f sdm=f* refers to events applying without restriction to past, present, or future *at some past point in time*. *Wn=j wšd=j* “I would address (workmen on this issue)” is therefore the preterite conversion of **jw=j wšd=j* “I (general-

¹⁴ Alan H. GARDINER, T. Eric PEET, and Jaroslav ČERNÝ, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, 2 vols. (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1952–55), vol. 1, Plate 25A; vol. 2, 97–99; Hans GOEDICKE, “The Inscription of *Ḥr-wr-r* (Sinai no. 90),” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*, 18 (1962): 14–25.

ly) address (workmen on this issue).” Like $wn=j\ wšd=j$, $dd.hr=sn$ is an aorist, but a contingent one: “Then (that is, if I would address them,) they would say.”¹⁵ $dd.hr=sn$ has past meaning; apparently, $s\dot{d}m.hr=f$ is the contingent counterpart of both $ju=f\ s\dot{d}m=f$ and $wn=f\ s\dot{d}m=f$. A parallel phenomenon is found in Coptic in which $ša=f-sōtm$ is both present aorist (“He hears”) and preterite aorist (“He would hear”), though the expected $ne\ ša=f-sōtm$ is also used as preterite aorist.

Example 7



$dd.jn\ šhtj\ pn$: “ $s3\ Mrw\ tnm.hr=f$ ”

“This peasant said, ‘Then the son of Meru errs.’”

(*Eloquent Peasant*,¹⁶ B 1,187–88)

In the events leading up to this statement, the peasant Khun-Anup, after having delivered his fourth petition in an appeal for justice to the official Rensi, son of Meru, has taken leave of the official. Surprisingly, Rensi’s reaction is to dispatch servants to whip Khun-Anup after he has left. The peasant’s response to this is recorded in the above statement. The use of a special verb form ($tnm.hr=f$) presupposes a special nuance. By taking this nuance to be contingency, the passage can be interpreted as Rensi’s erring being dependent on an implied condition and the passage can be translated as follows: “Then the son of Meru errs,” that is, *if* this is how he typically reacts to petitioners asking for help, namely having them whipped. It may be noted that the general aorist $ju=f\ s\dot{d}m=f$ is not used. The statement $*ju\ s3\ Mrw\ tnm=f$ “The son of Meru errs” would portray Rensi as a person who perpetually and unconditionally errs, as Khun-Anup must hope is not the case; in fact, the form $ju=f\ tnm=f$, the non-contingent counterpart of $tnm.hr=f$, is found at B 2,98, where it seems to express a general characterization of proverbial nature. An

¹⁵ For an instance of the corresponding general aorist, $wn=sn\ d\dot{d}=sn$, see Éric DORET, *The Narrative Verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian*, Cahiers d’Orientalisme 12 (Geneva: Patrick Cramer, 1986), 31 Example 21, 112 top.

¹⁶ Ed. VOGELSANG and GARDINER, *Die Klagen des Bauern* [see n. 6].

example of a general portrayal of Rensi by jw=f sdm=f occurs elsewhere in the text, at B 1,261–62 = B 2,15–16: $\text{jw=k jr=k twt n bw nb}$ “You are a model for all.”

Example 8

“If the king is hungry, the Two Lions are hungry. If the king is thirsty, Nekhbet is thirsty. Goddess of the *h_{dn}* plant! Goddess of the *h_{dn}* plant! Do not bring the scent of your *h_{dn}* plant to the king.”



$\text{tm.hr.t jn st(y) hdn.t r}$ (king's name) “If so (that is, if the king is hungry), then you do not bring the scent of your *h_{dn}* plant to (king's name).”

(Pyramid Texts,¹⁷ 696g T)

This is the only Old Egyptian example of sdm.hr=f and the only negated instance of sdm.hr=f .¹⁸ It is included here on the assumption that sdm.hr=f had the same function in Old as in Middle Egyptian.

The *h_{dn}* plant plays a role in a ritual called *jnt rd* “erasing the footsteps.” Though the interpretation of this ritual is not entirely certain, the bringing of the *h_{dn}* plant to the king seems to mark the end of the ritual.¹⁹ Therefore, when the goddess of the *h_{dn}* plant is ordered not to bring the scent of the plant to the king, the reason

¹⁷ Kurt SETHE, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, 4 vols. (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1908–22).

¹⁸ That is, if one interprets *tm* in *pEbers* (ed. GRAPOW [see n. 6]), 25,6 = 52,5 as the verb “complete, finish,” with Wolfhart WESTENDORF, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texte*, Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter 8 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962), 201 § 275.

¹⁹ See, for instance, Kurt SETHE, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten* (Hamburg and Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, [1935]–62), vol. 3, 273–74; for a more recent discussion, see Hartwig ALTEN-MÜLLER, “Eine neue Deutung der Zeremonie des *'Inlt rd*,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 57 (1971): 146–53.

seems to be that the king is still hungry and thirsty, and the *h_{dn}* plant would bring the offering ritual to an untimely conclusion.

The negated imperative *m jn* "Do not bring" in *Pyramid Texts*, 696e-f is followed by the negated *sdm.hr=f* form *tm.hr=t jn*. This form is traditionally considered roughly synonymous with the preceding imperative. However, the use of a different verb form suggests a different nuance. If *tm.hr:t jn* is interpreted as a contingent aorist, the passage could be rendered as follows: "If so (that is, if the ritual meal is about to begin because the king is hungry), then you do not bring the scent of your *h_{dn}* plant to the king."

D. Contingent and General Aorist in the Papyrus Ebers

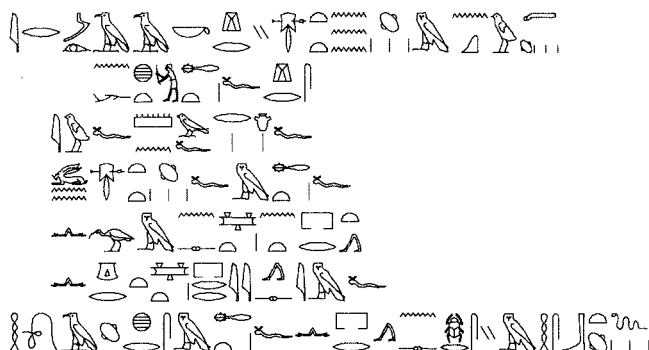
10 The medical treatise in the Papyrus Ebers²⁰ is the principal source for ancient Egyptian medicine. In length it exceeds by far the other texts of its kind. As a scientific treatise, it abounds with statements of general validity, that is, of aoristic purport. In them, both *ju=f sdm=f* and *sdm.hr=f* are used in great number.²¹ Moreover, *sdm.hr=f* is attested with and without a preceding *jr*-clause. The Papyrus Ebers should therefore be an ideal touchstone for the theory proposed here regarding the distinction between *ju=f sdm=f* and *sdm.hr=f*.

11 An examination reveals that, throughout the Papyrus Ebers, *ju=f sdm=f* can be interpreted as a general aorist and *sdm.hr=f* as a contingent aorist. The following example is typical: *ju=f sdm=f* appears in the protasis of a scientific statement,²² *sdm.hr=f* in the apodosis.

²⁰ Ed. GRAPOW, *Die medizinischen Texte* [see n. 6].

²¹ For *ju=f sdm=f*, see WESTENDORF, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texte* [see n. 18], 164–68 §§ 232–35, and for *sdm.hr=f/hr=f sdm=f*, *ibid.* 197–204 §§ 270–79.

²² In the example quoted below, as often in the medical texts, a protasis of the type *jr + sdm=f* is followed by grammatically independent statements, as if in parenthesis; they are placed between dashes below. Interpreting them as independent units, which is not the traditional view, receives support from the fact that three unambiguously independent



jr m33=k hry stt m nqw nht ht=f hr=s

— jw=f mn=f r.jb=f —

— wnn stt=f m ht=f —

— n gm.n=s w3t nt prt —

— n grt w3t prrjj=s jm=f —

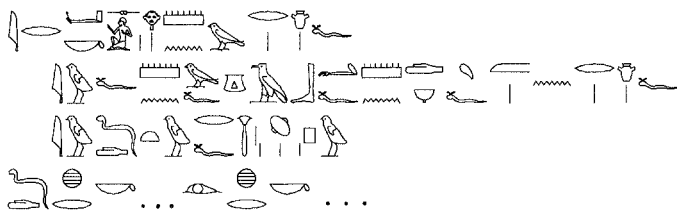
hw3.hr=s m ht=f n pr.n=s hpr sy m hsbwt

“If you see someone suffering from *stt* (?), with severe pains, due to which his belly is stiff (he is sick to his stomach, his *stt* is in his belly, it does not find a way out, and there is no way by which it could go out of him) then it decays in his belly, it does not come out, it turns into worms.”

(pEbers [see n. 6], 52,1–5 = 25,3–6)

12 In the following example, *dd* “say” features in both aorists. The general aorist *jw dd.tw* means “one says.” The contingent aorist *dd.hr=f* can be rendered as “then he says.”

constructions can follow *jr* + *sdm=f* within the protasis: (1) *jw=f sdm=f* (negation *n sdm.n=f*); (2) substantival or “emphatic” forms (*gmm=k* is extremely frequent; see Hildegard von Deines and Wolfhart Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte*, 2 vols., *Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter* 7.1–2 [Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961–62], vol. 2, 915–16); (3) a complete conditional sentence, including protasis and apodosis (see pSmith, 9,19–20 quoted in § 6 above).



jr ḥ3=k s ḥr mn r-jb=f

— *jw=f mn=f g3b=f mndt=f gs n r-jb=f* —

— *jw ḏd.tw r=f* “*w3ḏ pw*” —

ḏd.ḥr=k . . . jr.ḥr=k. . .

“If you examine a man being sick to his stomach—he suffers in his upper arm and breast at the side of his stomach and one says about him, ‘It is the *w3ḏ* disease’—then you say. . . , then you do. . . .”

(*pEbers* [see n. 6], 37,10–12 = 38,10–12)

As a rule, instances of *sdm.ḥr=f* in the Papyrus Ebers which are not preceded by an explicit *jr*-clause can be interpreted as contingent on conditions implied in the context.

E. Neutralization between *sdm.ḥr=f* and *jw=f sdm=f*

13 In certain syntactic positions *jw=f sdm=f* and *sdm.ḥr=f* are both converted into one and the same form. In such cases the opposition between contingent and general aorist may be considered neutralized. One case of neutralization seems to be the substantival verb form. The substantival form of both *jw=f sdm=f* and *sdm.ḥr=f* is *sdm=f (mrr=f)*. For instance, *gmm=k*, very frequent in the medical texts, is found in parallelism with both *jw=f sdm=f*²³ and *sdm.ḥr=f*.²⁴

²³ See *pEbers* [see n. 6], 39,13 and *pSmith* (ed. GRAPOW, [see n. 6]), 5,16–17, 8,6–8, etc.

²⁴ VON DEINES and WESTENDORF, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte* [see n. 22], vol. 2, 916, I.a.2–3.

14 Another case of neutralization between the contingent and the general aorist concerns the negation of both forms. The form $n \text{ sdm.n=f}$ not only negates the general aorist $jw=f \text{ sdm=f}$, but is also found in parallelism with the contingent aorist sdm.hr=f .²⁵ It has been noted earlier that $tm.hr=f \text{ sdm}$ rarely occurs as a negation of sdm.hr=f .²⁶

F. Condition and Result

15 One of the traditional terms used to denote the function of sdm.hr=f is "result."²⁷ Other words belonging to the same realm are nouns such as "consequence," "effect," and "sequel" and adjectives like "sequential."

As a first objection against the term "result" as an adequate description of the function of the form sdm.hr=f , it was observed above (see § 9 Example 2) that sdm.hr=f is used to express not only mathematical results but also the operations leading to those results.

A second objection is that terms like "result," "consequence," "effect," and "sequel" refer to a causal relationship, whereas "condition," "conditionality," and "contingency" do not. In a causal relationship between an event A and an event B, A leads inevitably to B and, whenever A occurs, so must B. But in a conditional relationship, A does not lead to B and though A needs to be present for B to occur, A may happen without

²⁵ An example is *pEbers* [see n. 6], 52,1–5, cited in § 10 above.

²⁶ See § 9 Example 7 with n. 18.

²⁷ For instance, in a recent interesting study of the Coptic pattern ša=f-sōtm , its special usages in documentary texts, and its predecessors in pre-Coptic Egyptian, Michael GREEN uses the terms "result" and "(logical) consequence" to describe the function of the forms containing the $hr/\text{ša}$ morpheme (*The Coptic share Pattern and Its Ancient Egyptian Ancestors: A Reassessment of the Aorist Pattern in the Egyptian Language* [Warminster: Aris & Phillips, Ltd., 1987], 10–11, 88–89).

certain treatment. The diagnosis does not lead to the treatment, as a cause does to an effect, but is one of the conditions that needs to be fulfilled for the treatment to take place.

G. *The Aorist after Middle Egyptian*

17 In Late Egyptian, Demotic, and Coptic, there is only a single aorist. The Middle Egyptian distinction between general and contingent aorist must therefore have been lost. Of the two Middle Egyptian aorists $jw=f$ $sdm=f$ and $sdm.hr=f$, it is $jw=f$ $sdm=f$ that became obsolete. On the other hand, verb forms with the morpheme hr persisted down to Coptic $\dot{s}a=f-s\dot{o}tm$ as expressions of the aorist tense.

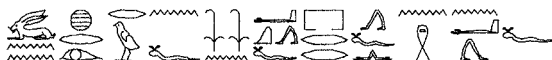
The successive affirmative counterparts of the negative aorists n $sdm.n=f$ (Middle Egyptian), bw $jr=f$ sdm (Demotic), and $me=f-s\dot{o}tm$ (Coptic) are therefore $jw=f$ $sdm=f$, hr $sdm=f$ (or periphrastic hr $jr=f$ sdm), and $\dot{s}a=f-s\dot{o}tm$. The situation in Late Egyptian is more complicated and will be discussed below.

18 According to this evolution, forms featuring hr encroached on the domain of $jw=f$ $sdm=f$ when the latter became obsolete. The morpheme hr , originally a contingent aorist, must have undergone a semantic shift, becoming more of a general aorist.

The gradual intrusion of hr forms in the domain of $jw=f$ $sdm=f$ can be observed in the syntactic slots following jr + $sdm=f$ and jr + noun syntagm. As indicated in § 2, Middle Egyptian jr + $sdm=f$ tends to be followed by $jw=f$ $sdm=f$ but jr + noun syntagm by $sdm.hr=f$. But after Middle Egyptian, both jr + $sdm=f$ and jr + noun syntagm are followed hr $sdm=f$. This is already the case in "traditional Middle Egyptian," used as an artificial tongue by scribes after it had died out. An example from Amenhotep III's time is as follows.²⁹

²⁹ The following early example from the Thirteenth Dynasty already features the form $hr.tw$ $sdm.tw=f$:

In spoken Middle Egyptian, action B is expressed by the form $ju=f sdm=f$; the corresponding substantival form is $sdm=f (mrr=f)$. In “traditional” Middle Egyptian, on the other hand, action B is referred to by the form $hr sdm=f$; apparently, the following example features a substantival equivalent of $hr sdm=f$, a peculiar compound $wnn.hr=f sdm=f (mrr=f)$.



wnn.hr jrrw n=f nn ʿq=f prr=f nn šnʿ=f “It is without being repelled that he for whom this is done enters and leaves” (*Book of the Dead* [see n. 6], Chapter 137A, Papyrus of Nebseni 35). For another example of this “emphatic” verb form, see *Book of the Dead*, Chapter 133, Papyrus of Nu 20–21.

20 It was suggested in § 18 that the change of verb form in the expression “Whoever does A does B” from Middle Egyptian to “traditional” Middle Egyptian of the New Kingdom may be due to influence from contemporary Late Egyptian. Indeed, *hr sḏm=f* is also found after *jr* + noun syntagm in the Kadesh Battle inscriptions, texts that may be considered Late Egyptian though, they too, show many archaizing tendencies.³¹



mk 3 p3 nty hr ms=f r hnhn=f hr gnn drt=f wt=f nbt
 “Whoever dares to approach him, his hand and all his

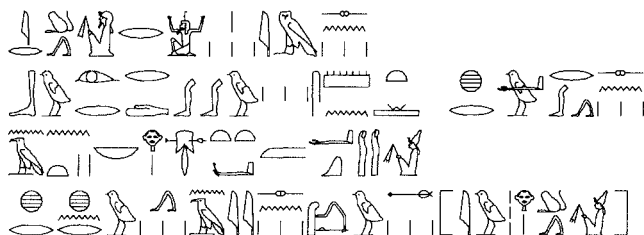
³¹ Charles KUENTZ, *La bataille de Qadech*, Mémoires publiées par les Membres de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale 55 (Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1928).

limbs grow weak.” (*Kadesh Inscriptions: The Poem* [see n. 31], 163 L2)



[*jr*] *p3 nty nb hr šmt r ḥm=f hr jw hh n ht r wbd ḥw=f* “As for anyone going to approach him, the breath of fire will turn his body” (*Kadesh Inscriptions: The Poem* [see n. 31], 288–89 K1). Version S has the contingent future *k3=f sdm=f* (for the contingent future, see chapter 2 below).

In the following example, *hr sdm=f* occurs twice, once after *jr + sdm=f* and once after a topicalized noun syntagm (“as for”), as the successor of both *sdm.hr=f* and *jw=f sdm=f*.



jr ph=j r ḥḥ jm=sn bw jr rdwy=w smnt hr wʿr=sn n3 nty nb hr stt m ʿq3=j hr ḥnrw n3jj=sn ḥ3w [jw=w hr ph=j] “When I attack their multitudes, their feet are not steady, they flee. All those who shoot in my direction, their arrows veer as they attack me” (*Kadesh Inscriptions: The Poem* [see n. 31], 202–4 L2). Noteworthy in this example is the parallelism between the affirmative aorist *hr wʿr=sn* and the negative aorist *bw*

jr rd.wy=sn smnt. Version S has the contingent future *k3=f sdm=f* (for the contingent future, see chapter 2).

21 The study of the Late Egyptian aorist is complicated by the fact that there are different kinds of Late Egyptian, at least some of which must be mixtures of the contemporary spoken Late Egyptian and archaic features of Middle Egyptian.

The aorist *hr sdm=f* is almost exclusively found in monumental and funerary inscriptions such as the Kadesh Battle inscriptions, from which examples are quoted in § 20. In non-literary Egyptian, on the other hand, the affirmative counterpart of *bw jr=f sdm* is not *hr sdm=f*, but *sw (hr) sdm* “He hears,” which also expresses the present, “He is hearing.”³² In the following example, the “first present” *sw (hr) sdm* is used as an aorist in a literary text; it is parallel to the negative aorist form *bw jr=f sdm* “He does not hear.”



jh m sm p3 nty Sth hr wnm=f dj m-dj=k . . . bw jr=f wnm sm nb dj m-dj=j hry 'bt “What vegetable does Seth eat (and not, is Seth eating) here with you?” . . . ‘He does not eat any vegetable except lettuce.’” (*The Contendings of Horus and Seth*, 11,9–11³³)

³² Jaroslav ČERNÝ and Sarah Israelit GROLL, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, Studia Pohl: Series Maior 4 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1984³), 315–21 (see especially Examples 871 and 878).

³³ Alan H. GARDINER, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 1 (Brussels: Egyptologische Stichting Koningin Elizabeth, 1932), 52,12–14.

The aorist in Late Egyptian awaits further study. But it seems that, with regard to the history of the aorist tense, the type of Late Egyptian that forms the link between Middle Egyptian *sdm.hr=f* and Demotic *hr sdm=f* is typically found on tomb and temple walls.

H. General and Specific Contingency

22 Since there is only one aorist form in Demotic and Coptic, it is difficult to see how the difference between contingent and general aorist could have been maintained. Evidently, in Demotic and Coptic, *hr sdm=f* appears not only in positions in which the contingent aorist *sdm.hr=f* is used in Middle Egyptian but also in those in which the general aorist of Middle Egyptian, *jw=f sdm=f*, occurs. For this to be possible, the morpheme *hr* must have expanded its functional scope, that is, changed in meaning. One possibility is to assume that *hr* lost its contingent character in late Middle Egyptian and evolved from a specialized aorist to a general aorist. But did *hr* lose its contingent character entirely?

23 Aoristic statements can be regarded as contingent in a general way. The statement "Students drink beer," for instance, only applies if one excludes sick or hung-over students. "Students drink beer" can therefore be taken to mean "Students will drink beer *if* certain conditions apply or *whenever* the opportunity arises to do so."³⁴ Apodictic statements of

³⁴ H.J. POLOTSKY states with regard to the aorist *ša=f-sōtm* that it is rather "ein Potentialis oder ein Contingens und kann sich auf alle Zeitstufen beziehen" ("Verbalaspekte im Koptischen," *Göttinger Miszellen*, 88 [1985]: 19–23, at 22); see now also Idem, *Grundlagen des koptischen Satzbaus: Zweite Hälfte*, American Studies in Papyrology 29 (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1990), 194–97. Cf. Idem, "Randbemerkungen" [see n. 4], 122; W.J. TAIT, "Notes on the Forms *šc sdm=f*, *šc ir=f sdm*," in *The Carlsberg Papyri 1: Demotic Texts from the Collection*, Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 15 (Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen and Museum Tusculanum Press, 1991), 83–85.

universal validity belong to the realm of logic. It seems that, when human beings make general statements, certain conditions will tend to be taken for granted.

This relationship between aoristic statements and contingency might explain why a Middle Egyptian morpheme expressing the contingent aorist could evolve into a general aorist in Demotic and Coptic. The semantic evolution from *sdm.hr=f* to *ša=f-sōtm* would then have to be described as a shift from specific contingency or dependency on specific conditions to the kind of general contingency inherent in aoristic statements.

SDM.K3=F/K3(=F) SDM=F AS CONTINGENT FUTURE

A. *Sdm.k3=f/k3=f sdm=f in Conditional Sentences*

24 Like *sdm.hr=f*, *sdm.k3=f*³⁵ typically appears in the apodosis following *jr*-clauses.³⁶ But as distinct from *sdm.hr=f*, it refers to the future. If the typical use of *sdm.k3=f* is any indication of its function, as was the case for *sdm.hr=f* above, contingency must also be the meaning of *sdm.k3=f*. But as with *sdm.hr=f*, it would need to be shown that instances in which *sdm.k3=f* is not preceded by an explicit protasis are dependent on implied conditions. Before discussing such instances, the following evidence may be considered.

³⁵ *Sdm.k3=f* will be used here to refer to all verb forms containing *k3* though its use is "confined to religious texts and temple inscriptions" (Alan H. GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs* [Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1957³], 347 § 434).

³⁶ *pKahun* [see n. 11], Plates 13,36 (reconstructed by GRIFFITH); *pKahun*, 22,7 and 9; *The Admonitions of Ipuwer* (Alan H. GARDINER, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* [Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1909; reprint Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1969]), 5,3; *Coffin Texts* [see n. 5], II 165f–166a, 174f–i; VII 418c–419c, 489i–j, 494j–495c (cf. § 30). Though he accepts more than a single function for *sdm.k3=f*, GARDINER noted on several occasions a certain affiliation between verb forms containing the morpheme *k3* and the notion of dependency on what precedes in the text, namely when he states that "the use of *k3* in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, implied or expressed, is one of its chief employments. The protasis may be replaced by a wish or by a rhetorical question; or else by an imperative ('do this, [and if thou dost so] then . . .')" (*The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, 81 [abbreviated]), or when he indicates that *k3(=f) sdm=f* expresses "a simple future event arising out of what has previously been said" (*Egyptian Grammar* [see n. 35], 181–82 § 242), or again, when he observes that, "like the related *k3.f sdm.f* and *k3 sdm.f* constructions, the *sdm.k3.f* refers to a future act dependent on something already stated" (*Egyptian Grammar* [see n. 35], 347 § 434).

25 It has been observed that the insertion of *jr nfr-n wnn m-ht=t* "If you have nothing (to give)" in a variant of a formula exhorting the living to make food offerings to the dead coincides with the appearance of the form *dd.k3=tn*.³⁷ One obtains the impression that the added conditional clause triggered the use of *sdm.k3=f*, evidencing the latter's contingent character.



*dd.tn n(=j) t h(n)qt m ntt m-c=tn f33[=tn]*³⁸ *m wy=tn wdn=tn*³⁹ *m r=tn* "You will give bread and beer to me from what you have, you will carry with your hands, and offer with your mouth." (*Urkunden I*,⁴⁰ 224,1-3)



³⁷ H.J. POLOTSKY, "Zur altägyptischen Grammatik," *Orientalia*, 38 (1969): 465-81, at 472. VERNUS, *Future at Issue* [see n. 1], 97, notes the interesting variant *dd.hr=tn*, a contingent aorist instead of a contingent future. This alternation of aorist and future may be compared to that of *ša=f-sōtm* and *f-na-sōtm* in the apodosis following *e=f-šan-sōtm* in Coptic.

³⁸ The seated man in *f33* is depicted lifting the viper.

³⁹ The determinative of *wdn* has a peculiar shape.

⁴⁰ Kurt SETHE, *Urkunden des Alten Reiches* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1932²).

dd.tn n(=j) t hnqt m ntt m-h̄t=tn jr nfr-n wnn m-h̄t=tn
dd.k3=tn m r=tn "You will give bread and beer to me
 from what you have. If you have nothing (to give), then
 you will say with your mouth."

(Chapel of *Hwj*, East Side of Doorway, 1-2⁴¹)

In a third variant,⁴² the protasis *jr nfr-n wnn m-^c=tn*
 "If you have nothing (to give)" is followed by the plain future
jw=f r dd "you will say."



jw=tn r drp n=j m ntt m-^c=tn jr nfr-n wnn m-^c=tn
jw=tn r dd m r=tn "You will make offerings for me
 from what you have. If you have nothing (to give), you
 will say with your mouth." (Cairo 20,003,⁴³ 2-4)

The construction *jw=f r sdm* is rare in the apodosis of *jr*.⁴⁴ In
 the present example, parallelism with the preceding future

⁴¹ Étienne DRIOTON, "Description sommaire des chapelles funéraires de la VI^e dynastie récemment découvertes derrière la mastaba de Mérérouka à Sakkarah," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, 43 (1943): 487-513, at 503.

⁴² This example is also quoted by POLOTSKY, "Zur altägyptischen Grammatik" [see n. 37], 472.

⁴³ J.J. CLÈRE and Jacques VANDIER, *Textes de la première période intermédiaire*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 10 (Brussels: Egyptologische Stichting Koningin Elizabeth, 1948), 2 § 2.

⁴⁴ For other examples, see VERNUS, *Future at Issue* [see n. 1], 32 n. 19. In the medicine texts, for instance, in which conditional statements abound, *jw=f r sdm* is so rare in the apodosis that WESTENDORF suspects ellipsis where it does occur (*Grammatik der medizinischen Texte* [see n. 18], 293 § 422).

Example 4



hw jrjj=k hft d=d=j k3 htp m3't r st=s "Oh, may you do as I say. Then (that is, if you do as I say) Truth will rest in its place." (*Urkunden IV* [see n. 30], 1074.14–15)

For Truth to rest in its place, a condition must be fulfilled. Although this condition is not stated in an explicit protasis, it can easily be derived from the previous sentence, in which the wish is uttered that the person addressed may act according to what the speaker says. If not, Truth will not rest in its place.⁴⁷

Example 5



jn nhsjj k3 jr=n mkt=n . . .

$jn \cdot jw = s \cdot m \cdot tm \cdot hy \cdot k3 \cdot jr = n \cdot c \cdot nw$

"Is it a Nubian, then we will protect ourselves . . .

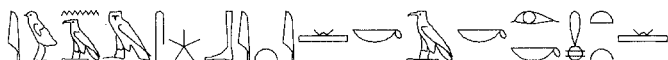
Is it a Libyan, then we will withdraw."

(*The Admonitions of Ipuwer* [see n. 36], 14,13–14)

The choice of the reaction—protection or withdrawal—is contingent on whether a Nubian or a Libyan is encountered.

⁴⁷ A different explanation of this passage and of the meaning of *k3* in general is proposed by Rainer HANNIG, "The Particle *k3*," *Göttinger Miszellen*, 95 (1987): 9–19 (for the present example, see 14–15).

Example 6



jw n3 m sb3jtt k3=k jr=k mjtt “This is a teaching. (If you learn from it,) then you will do likewise.” (“*The Installation of the Vizier Rh-mj-r^c*,” 12 = *Urkunden IV* [see n. 30], 1090,3–4)

Example 7



sd=n jr swht=f m jst j.n=sn ntrw jw.k3 r=f Skr n Pd_w . . . [s]wt sd=f s[wht=f] “‘With what, then, will we break his egg,’ say the gods. Then (that is, if they say this) Sokar of *Pd_w* will come. . . . It is he who will break his egg.” (*Pyramid Texts* [see n. 17], 1967–68a,d)

C. K3(=f) *sdm=f* in the Letters of the Kahun Archive

27 The letters of the Kahun Archive contain many instances of *k3(=f) sdm=f*. Many are marred by a problem often encountered in interpreting Egyptian letters. Scribes make references to persons, places, and events known only to speaker or addressee. Though, in the following example, the text is fragmentary, the event expressed by *k3 sdm=f* seems dependent on the event in the preceding sentence.⁴⁸

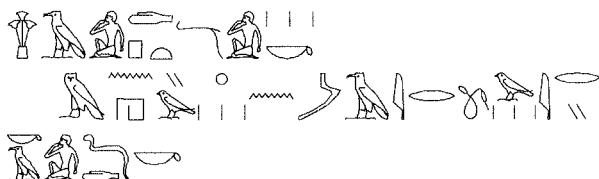
⁴⁸ Contingency may contribute to the interpretation of other obscure passages featuring *k3(=f) sdm=f*: *pKahun* [see n. 11], Plate 29,39.43; 31,13–14. 20–21; 36,15.16.23. GRIFFITH usually renders *k3* by “then” or “why then.”



hn^c rdjt jw t n=j šmsw Snb jnt=f n=j kmt m n3 n ḥsbw k3 dj=j jn [. . .] “and send the attendant *Snb* to me, so that he might bring the *kmt m* (of?) those workers. Then (that is, if you send him and he brings) I will let [. . .] bring [. . .].” (*pKahun* [see n. 11], Plate 31,1)

D. Contrary-to-fact Conditions

28 Verb forms containing *k3* can be contingent on statements introduced by *ḥ3* “would that.” In such instances, the translation “then he will” should be replaced by “then he would.”⁴⁹



ḥ3 dpt=k^{sic} n nhy m m3jr-jry k3 ḏd=k . . . “Would that you had tasted from some of their misery! Then you would say. . . .”

(*The Admonitions of Ipuwer* [see n. 36], 13,6)

⁴⁹ See also *The Admonitions of Ipuwer* [see n. 36], 12,2; *The Complaints of Khakheperre-sonb* (ed. GARDINER, *Admonitions* [see n. 36]), recto 13–14; perhaps also *The Admonitions of Ipuwer* [see n. 36], 5,3, *jr* [. . .] *rḥ.n=j ntr tn k3 jrjj=j n=f* “If I knew where god was, I would act (that is, bring offerings) for him” (GARDINER’s interpretation).

E. *The Particle k3*

29 The following examples suggest that to express contingency is also the function of *k3* as an independent particle.

K3 + NOUN⁵⁰

“What is this mood, O sovereign—may he live, be prosperous, and healthy—O my lord?”



jn jrj.tw hr p3 hr dw 3 dd.n=j k3 s3=k k3 s3=f k3 w^c jm=s “Is it because of those three children I mentioned? (First you,) then your son, then his son, and then one of them.” (*pWestcar*,⁵¹ 9,14)

King Khufu is concerned that three children prophesied as future kings by Djedi will replace his own dynasty. But Djedi reassures the king that the children will only rule after his own son and grandson: “(When Khufu dies,) then his son (will reign); (when his son dies,) then his grandson (will rule); (only when his grandson dies,) then (will) one of the three children (rule).” The accession of each new king is contingent upon the preceding king ending his rule.

⁵⁰ *K3* + noun is perhaps an elliptical *k3=f (sdm=f)*.

⁵¹ For the text of *pWestcar*, see Adolf ERMAN, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen 5–6 (Berlin, 1890); Aylward M. BLACKMAN, *The Story of King Cheops and the Magicians*, Transcribed from Papyrus Westcar (Berlin Papyrus 3033), ed. W. Vivian DAVIES (Reading: J.V. Books, 1988); (partial edition) Adriaan DE BUCK, *Egyptian Readingbook* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1963).

K3 + CLEFT SENTENCE

"Go down, bring some of it."

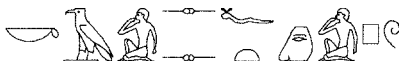


k3 jn R^c-wsr rdj=f n=sn qb3-jry m-ht jw=f “Then (that is, if some of it is brought) R^c-wsr will reimburse them (that this, those who bring it) when he comes.”

(*pWestcar* [see n. 51], 11,25–26)

K3 + NOMINAL SENTENCE

“Do not reject it.”



k3 ssft pw “Then (that is, if what is ordered in the previous sentence is executed) it will be a soothing.” (*The Instruction Addressed to Kagemni* [see n. 6], 1,10)

F. Neutralization between Contingent and General Future

30 Four passages in the Coffin Texts, namely V 3a–6c, VII 418c–419c, VII 489i–j, and VII 494j–495c, feature a protasis headed by *jr jwṯ/jw* “If . . . comes. . .” In three of the four passages, *sdm.k3=f* appears in the apodosis, but the fourth, namely V 3a–6c, has *sdm=f*.⁵² One wonders in what way the fourth passage is different. *Coffin Texts*, V 3a–6c, the passage with *sdm=f* in the apodosis, consists of four parallel sentences.

⁵² POLOTSKY, "Zur altägyptischen Grammatik" [see n. 37], 470.

It may thus be safely concluded that, after the obsolescence of *sdm.k3=f* and a considerable pause, the grammatical category of future contingency surfaced again in Coptic in the morphological appearance of *f-na-sōtm pe*.

SDM.JN=F AS CONTINGENT PAST

32 The verb form *sdm.jn=f* has two well-known usages. In medical texts, it appears in the same contexts as *sdm.hr=f*. Since *sdm.jn=f* and *sdm.hr=f* are interchangeable and it does not seem possible to discern a difference in usage between them,⁵⁶ the former would seem to be a contingent aorist just as much as the latter.⁵⁷ If so, the usage of *sdm.jn=f* as an aorist could be classified with *sdm.hr=f* discussed in chapter 1.

But remarkably, the same *sdm.jn=f* is also used as a narrative verb form. The narrative *sdm.jn=f* (including *wn.jn=f hr sdm*) has been described in terms of dependency on what precedes,⁵⁸ but can this dependency too be understood in terms of contingency?

33 New events in a narrative chain can only occur if the previous events in the chain have taken place.⁵⁹ In “He

⁵⁶ WESTENDORF, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texte* [see n. 18], 207–8 § 283.

⁵⁷ Unless *sdm.hr=f* (“If . . .) then he hears” is to be distinguished from *sdm.jn=f* (“If . . .) then he has heard,” as suggested by Wolfgang SCHENKEL (personal communication).

⁵⁸ GARDINER uses the terms “result” and “sequel” (*Egyptian Grammar*, 345 § 429), Fritz HINTZE employs “Erfolg oder Abschluss der vorher erwähnten Handlung” (*Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache neuägyptischer Erzählungen*, 2 vols., Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin: Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichungen 2, 6 [Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1950–52], 33).

⁵⁹ “Das Gesetz aller Tat lässt sich . . . so fassen: Was geschehen ist, ist geschehen, und—wir könnten fortfahren—was weiter geschehen wird, ist dadurch bedingt” (*Handbuch der philosophischen Grundbegriffe*, vol. 1 [Munich, 1973], 181).

approached the house and knocked on the door," knocking on the door would be impossible without first approaching the house. From a certain point of view, approaching the house can be regarded as a condition that needs to be fulfilled for knocking on the door to be possible.⁶⁰

Since the occurrence of an event in a narrative sequence is contingent on previous events, $sdm.jn=f$ may be interpreted, in harmony with its use in the medicine texts, as a sign that makes this kind of dependency explicit in narration. In English, this relationship may be rendered by "then," in the sense of "these conditions having been fulfilled," but not of "at that point in time." As a contingent form, $sdm.jn=f$ does not begin a narrative.⁶¹

In the *Late-Egyptian stories*,⁶² a typical narrative chain features the verb forms $jw=f hr sdm$ and $wn.jn=f hr sdm$. The usage of these two verb forms can be interpreted as follows: $jw=f hr sdm$ combines single actions into compound actions⁶³; $wn.jn=f hr sdm$ heads these compound actions, declaring one to be contingent on the preceding one.

⁶⁰ This does not mean that one event *caused* another or that one is the *result* of another (see § 15): "Die Vollständigkeit der Bedingungen eines Vorganges bedeutet noch nicht, dass er sich vollzieht, sondern nur, dass er sich vollziehen kann" (*Handbuch der philosophischen Grundbegriffe* [see n. 59], vol. 1, 181).

⁶¹ The Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor (ed. Aylward M. BLACKMAN, *Middle-Egyptian Stories*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 2 [Brussels: Egyptologische Stichting Koningin Elizabeth, 1932]) begins rather abruptly with the form $dd.jn šmsw jqr$ "Then the worthy attendant said." This leads one to suspect that "the very beginning may be lost" (Peter DER MANUELIAN, "Interpreting 'The Shipwrecked Sailor,'" in *Gegengabe: Festschrift für Emma Brunner-Traut* [Tübingen: Attempto Verlag, 1992], 223–33, at 225).

⁶² See n. 33.

⁶³ See Part I on conjunction.

CONCLUSION

A. *The Contingent Tenses of Middle Egyptian*

34 The three verb forms $\text{sdm.jn}=f$, $\text{sdm.hr}=f$, and $\text{sdm.k3}=f$ may be grouped together as the contingent tenses of Middle Egyptian. With the exception of the aorist use of $\text{sdm.jn}=f$ in the medicine texts, they approach the tripartite model found in the forms with *ju*.

<i>Tenses</i>	<i>Non-contingent</i>	<i>Contingent</i>
Past	<i>ju sdm.n=f</i>	<i>sdm.jn=f</i>
Aorist	<i>ju=f sdm=f</i>	<i>sdm.hr=f</i>
Future	<i>ju=f r sdm</i>	<i>sdm.k3=f</i>

As French and German equivalents of the term “contingent tenses,” *temps conditionnels*⁶⁴ and *bedingte Tempora*⁶⁵ are recommended here.

35 According to the model in § 34, $\text{hr}=k$ $\text{h3}^c=k$ is a contingent aorist and $\text{k3}=k$ $\text{h3}^c=k$ a contingent future in the following similar examples.

⁶⁴ Cf. n. 70 below.

⁶⁵ See Wolfgang SCHENKEL, *Tübinger Einführung in die klassisch-ägyptische Sprache und Schrift* (Tübingen, 1991), 172–74.

*C. The Conditionnel in French and Other Parallels
to the Contingent Tenses outside Egyptian*

37 Verb forms and morphemes in other languages function in ways similar to the contingent tenses of Middle Egyptian. None is an exact parallel to the triad *sdm.jn=f*, *sdm.hr=f*, and *sdm.k3=f*, but they belong in the same area of grammar. Each of the items mentioned below would deserve a study in its own right. My only aim, however, is to discuss each briefly in order to show that the expression of contingency is a grammatical category not limited to Egyptian.

In considering the items to follow, we need to distinguish between specific and general contingency (see §§ 22–23). Specific contingency is dependency on specific conditions, which either are mentioned explicitly in the context or can be derived with some precision from the context. General contingency expresses a much vaguer dependency on certain unspecified and unknown conditions. Some of the forms mentioned below seem to refer rather to specific contingency, others to general contingency. And perhaps, specific and general contingency are just two poles between which intermediate solutions are possible. In any event, the Egyptian verb forms clearly signify specific contingency.

38 A close equivalent of contingent tenses in Middle Egyptian is the French verb form called *le conditionnel*, which has parallel formations in other Romance languages. We may consider the following Egyptian passage and its translation into French.



hnr n=j t3jj=s nhšjy nty m jry-rdwy=s k3 ptr.n=j jnw n h°wt=s nbt “Ah! si j’étais la négresse sa suivante! Oui, je *verrais* la couleur de toutes ses chairs” (*Cairo Ostrakon*, 25,218,3–4 [see n. 65 below]). For *hnr n=j*, perhaps read *hnr.n=j* “I have longed for. . . , I have desired to be. . . .”

The translation, including the italics, is that of the noted French Egyptologist Charles Kuentz, who quotes the example in a discussion of the verb form *ptr.n=j*, proposing that *ptr.n=j* expresses a *futur désideratif*, that is, “desired future.”⁶⁶ Kuentz disregards the particle *k3*, but nevertheless uses the *conditionnel* to translate the verb form. Though there is no lack of expression of desire in the above passage, the presence of *k3* suggests that this desire is cast in a contingent mold: “seeing the complexion of all the limbs of the beloved” (*k3 ptr.n=j* . . .) depends on being her Nubian maid. The verb form *ptr.n=j* is past because the statement is contrary-to-fact.

39 Etymologically speaking, the French *conditionnel* derives from a late Latin construction consisting of the infinitive followed by the past of *habere* “have.” For instance, *je chanterais* “I would sing” can be traced back to *ego cantare habebam* “I was to sing” (literally, “I had singing [to do]”). As such, *je chanterais* “I would sing” is the past of *je chanterai* “I will sing,” which derives from Latin *ego cantare habeo* “I am to sing” (literally, “I have singing [to do]”). Indeed, the original function of the *conditonnal* is to express a future in the past, a usage which the form still has in modern French. For instance, the past equivalent of *je sais qu’il chantera* “I know that he will sing” is *je savais qu’il chanterait* “I knew that he would sing.”

⁶⁶ Charles KUENTZ, “Deux points de syntaxe égyptienne,” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’Archéologie orientale*, 14 (1918): 231–54, at 243.

But this usage as future in the past is practically limited to subordinate clauses. There is hardly any need for it in main sentences. This left room for a second usage to develop in main sentences.⁶⁷ This second usage is dependency on conditions; when no conditions are expressed, they can be implied from the context.⁶⁸

In conclusion, the French *conditionnel* has two distinct usages: it can function both as a future in the past and as an expression of contingency.⁶⁹ Structurally and paradigmatically, the two usages are kept apart because one is found as a rule in subordinate clauses, the other in main sentences. Strictly speaking, the name *conditionnel* only applies to the second usage.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ CLÉDAT, "Études de syntaxe française: Le conditionnel" [see n. 45], 282–83.

⁶⁸ "Quand on entend dire «nous donnerions» ou «nous aurions donné» et que le reste de la phrase nous échappe, on sait que l'action est ou a été: 1° conditionnelle: 2° possible dans la mesure que comporte le caractère douteux de la condition: donc *possibilité conditionnelle*. . . . Supposons une action passée: Il *serait parti*. Cette action a été possible *si* (ou *même si*)" (CLÉDAT, "Études de syntaxe française: Le conditionnel" [see n. 45], 279–80).

⁶⁹ "Il y a lieu de distinguer de la valeur modale du conditionnel . . . la valeur primitive, encore très employée, de ce temps (*futur dans le passé*)" (Léon CLÉDAT, *Revue de philologie française*, 24 [1910]: 316). CLÉDAT reacts against eighteenth and nineteenth century French grammarians, projecting the function of contingency onto instances in which the *conditionnel* expresses a future in the past. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century—up to Antoine ARNAULD and Claude LANCELOT's *Grammaire générale et raisonnée* (1660)—the study of the *conditionnel* was hampered by attempts to fit French into the straitjacket of Greek or Latin grammar. On the history of the term *conditionnel*, see Henri YVON, "Le mot *conditionnel*," in *Études romanes dédiées à Mario Roques* (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1946), 149–68.

⁷⁰ As the name of a verb form, *conditionnel* means "dependent on conditions" ("dont la nature ou l'existence sont soumises à certaines conditions" and, as a substantive in grammars, "[un] mode qui indique que l'idée exprimée par le verbe est subordonnée à une condition" (*Trésor de la langue française*, edited by Paul IMBS, vol. 5 [Paris: Éditions du Centre national de recherche scientifique, 1977], 1278). This should not be confused with the usage of the same term in the expression *phrase conditionnelle* "conditional clause," in which the word is an equivalent of "pertaining to or constituting a condition."

40 Of the three contingent tenses of Middle Egyptian, the French *conditionnel* bears most resemblance to *sdm.k3=f*. But there are also notable differences between the French and the Egyptian tense. For instance, the *conditionnel* possesses present and past tenses, the latter being used for contrary-to-fact statements.

Unlike the French *conditionnel*, the Egyptian tense cannot refer to the future in the past (see § 39). On the other hand, there is a form in Egyptian that shares with the French *conditionnel* the dual function of referring to the future in the past and contingent events, namely Coptic *ne=f-na-sōtm*, the preterite conversion of the future *f-na-sōtm*. But in its contingent function, *ne=f-na-sōtm* is limited to contrary-to-fact statements.

Finally, it may be noted that also English “would,” that is, the past of the future “will,” is employed in ways similar to that of the French *conditionnel*.

41 Some other verb forms and constructions outside Egyptian are likely candidates for the expression of general contingency. They include Arabic *qad* followed by the Imperfect and German *manchmal*, which does not mean “many times,” its original meaning, nor “few times,” but rather something like “when the occasion arises” or “when the conditions are right.” The Arabic proverb *qad yaşduqu l-kudūbu* can therefore be rendered in German as “Auch der Lügner sagt manchmal die Wahrheit.”⁷¹ The meaning of Greek *ὅτι* and its Homeric equivalents *κεν* and *κε* is also related.

Finally, it is probably also the occasional awareness of the speaker that the occurrence of future events is dependent on events taking their expected course that triggers the use of *in šā’a llāh* “God willing” in statements referring to the future.

⁷¹ The example and its translation are taken from notes on Arabic grammar recorded in Manfred ULLMANN’s lectures in the winter semester of 1984 in Tübingen.

D. Contingency and Contrast

42 Contingency is similar in a certain respect to contrastive emphasis expressed by emphatic constructions (the substantival verb forms, the cleft sentence, and the emphatic nominal sentence). Both refer to something implied or explicitly stated outside the boundaries of the statement in which they appear, the emphatic constructions to elements with which the emphasized part of the sentence is contrasted, the contingent tenses to conditions upon which the occurrence of an event depends.

This page intentionally left blank

INDEXES

Index of Passages Cited

Passages are cited here succinctly in the way in which they are perhaps best recognizable, be it according to manuscript source, author or title of the modern text edition, or author or title of the ancient work in which they are found. Full references to editions are provided in the text.

Also note that some New Kingdom examples are classified as Middle Egyptian and that some examples classified as Late Egyptian contain Middle Egyptian archaisms.

Prefixed *p* in references to papyri is disregarded in alphabetizing. For example, *pWestcar* is classified as *Westcar*.

1. OLD EGYPTIAN AND

MIDDLE EGYPTIAN

—14*b*, 166 n. 66

Coffin Texts

pBerlin 10,747

—verso 1–2, 159

Book of the Dead

—133 Nu 20–21, 229

—136A Nu 21–24, 209 n. 6

—136A Nu 23, 103

—137A Nebseni 35, 229

Cairo 20,003

—2–4, 236

“Carnarvon Tablet 1”

—14*a*, 157

—I 252e B10C^c, 140

—II 165f–166a, 234 n. 36

—II 174f–i, 234 n. 36

—II 233c–234a B2Bo, 163

—II 249b–c S1C^a, 176–77

—III 24c–25b B2Bo, 195

—III 115g, 147 n. 40

—IV 326k T2Be, 211

—V 3a–6c, 243, 244

—V 182b–f B5C, 218

—V 199b–d B10C, 209–10

—V 199b–200d B10C, 217

—VII 36r T9C, 156

—VII 262f–h B3C, 210

—VII 303c–304a B1C / B1L /

B2L, 210

—VII 365g–366a, 210

Coffin Texts (continued)

- VII 418c-419c, 234 n. 36,
243, 244
- VII 471c-e, 210
- VII 489i-j, 234 n. 36, 243,
244
- VII 494j-495c, 234 n. 36,
243, 244
- VII 507c-e B1P, 210

Couyat and Montet, *Ouâdi
Hammamât*

- No. 199, 155 n. 49

de Buck, *Readingbook*

- 64,13, 166 n. 66

Destruction of Mankind

- 34, 159

pEbers

- 5,16-17, 224
- 8,6-8, 224
- 25,3-6 = 52,1-5, 223
- 37,10-12 = 38,10-12, 224
- 39,13, 224 n. 23
- 47,8-10, 209 n. 6
- 52,1-5 = 25,3-6, 223, 225
n. 25
- 52,6-7 = 25,7-8, 226
- 93,17-18, 205-6, 214
- 100,18-19, 150

Eloquent Peasant

- R 59-61, 121-22, 168
- R 160 (B 1,74-75), 170
- B 1,81-82, 141
- B 1,187-88, 220
- B 1,187-88 (B 2,15-16), 221
- B 2,101-2, 209

Hammamat. See Couyat . . .

Hegankhete

- Plate I, 9-10, 174
- Plate II, 4, 175
- Plate II, 36, 174 n. 85
- Plate II, 38, 175
- Plate II, 39-40, 174 n. 85

Hirtengeschichte

- 22-23, 158

Hr-wr-r^c, Inscription of

- 8-10, 219

Hwj, Chapel of

- East Side of Doorway 1-2,
235-36

*Kagemni, Instruction Ad-
dressed to*

- 1,10, 243
- 1,10-11, 209 n. 6

pKahun

- Plate 3,34–35, 250
- Plate 8,24–28, 215
- Plate 13,36, 234 n. 36
- Plate 22,7, 234 n. 36
- Plate 22,9, 234 n. 36
- Plate 29,39, 240 n. 48
- Plate 29,43, 240 n. 48
- Plate 31,1, 241
- Plate 31,13–14, 240 n. 48
- Plate 31,20–21, 240 n. 48
- Plate 36,15, 240 n. 48
- Plate 36,16, 240 n. 48
- Plate 36,23, 240 n. 23

Louvre C 12, 186 n. 103

Merikare, Instruction Addressed to

- 5,7, 195

Mntw-ḥtp(w), Stela of, 169 n. 71

Naga-ed-dēr

- 37,5, 143 n. 34

Neferhotep, Stela of

- 5–6, 228

Piye's Victory Stela

- 147–48, 155 n. 49

Ptahhotep, Instruction of

- 9,5–6, 209

Pyramid Texts

- 696g T, 221
- 1967–68a,d, 240

Readingbook

See de Buck, —

pRhind

- 62,7, 216

Sesostris III, Hymn to, 176 n. 89

Shipwrecked Sailor

- 2–5, 171

Sinuhe, Story of

- B 1–2 (R 24–25), 181
- B 3 (R 26–27), 180
- B 7 (R 30–31), 184
- B 8–9 (R 33–34), 184
- B 10–11 (R 34–35), 184
- B 11–13 (R 36–38),
166–67
- B 16–19 (R 42–45), 173
- B 20–21 (R 45–46), 153
- B 21–22 (R 47–48), 180
n. 94

Sinuhe (continued)

- B 24–25 (R 48–49), 182
- B 27–28 (R 51–52), 184
- B 32 (R 56), 135 n. 21
- B 92–93, 182
- B 127–29, 160–163
- B 129, 118, 155
- B 134–35, 180
- B 137–39 (R 164–65), 183
- B 200, 129–39, 142
- B 200–201, 183
- B 248, 157
- R 47–48 (B 21–22), 180
- R 54 (B 30), 182

pSmith

- 9,19–20, 213
- 21,9–10, 205

pTurin CGT 54,065, 185*Urkunden I*

- 224,1–3, 235

Urkunden IV

- 158,11–12, 117 n. 1, 154
- 896,4–8, 156
- 1074,14–15, 239
- 1090,3–4, 240
- 1090,7–8, 228

pWestcar

- 3,2–4, 250

- 9,14, 242
- 11,25–26, 243
- 12,3, xiv

2. LATE EGYPTIAN*Admonitions of Ipuwer*

- 5,3, 234 n. 36, 241 n. 49
- 12,2, 241 n. 49
- 13,6, 241
- 14,13–14, 239

Amenemope, Wisdom of

- 15,7, 38
- 20,8–9, 71
- 21,15–21, 36–37
- 23,22–24,1, 72
- 24,9–10, 73
- 24,11–12, 74
- 26,9–10, 35

pAnastasi

- I 11,6, 237, 245
- I 12,4, 238
- IV 14,10–11, 48
- V 11,6, 47

Any, Instruction of

- 8,3–4, 54

British Museum 10,054r

- 2,10–12, 14–15

Cairo Ostrakon, 25,218

—3-4, 251-52

Černý, Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires—vol. 5, Plate 26, No. 438,
verso, line 2, 190*pChester Beatty*

—I C 2,2, 49

Emḥab, Stela of

—11-12, 194

Horus and Seth

—11,9-11, 231

Joppa, Taking of

—2,8, 194

—3,6, 163

Kadesh Inscriptions: Poem

—109 K1, 238

—163 L2, 229-30

—202-4 L2, 230

—288-89 K1, 230

Khakheperre-sonb, Complaints of

—recto 13-14, 241 n. 49

Kubban Stela

—4, 185

—5, 193-94

—13, 160

pLansing

—6,7, 173-74, 200

pLeiden

—I 361,4-5, 22-23 n. 28

pTurin 1887v

—2,1-11, 16

"Turin Strike Papyrus"

—recto 2,9, 163

—recto 4,3-4, 39

Two Brothers, Tale of

—1,4-5, 7

—4,4, 7

—4,6, 7

—5,7, 7

Wenamun

—1,18, 70

—1,21, 83 n. 95

—1,44, 175 n. 87

—1,44-45, 17

—2,8, 190-91

—2,48-49, 172

3. DEMOTIC*pCarlsberg I*

—6,6, 21–22

pLouvre 2414

—1,12, 78

Magical Papyrus

—5,7, 40 n. 54

Mythus

—11,20–21, 21

°*Onchsheshongy*

—7,8, 10

4. COPTIC**a. Bohairic***Luke*

—6:37, 90

—6:38, 90

Matthew

—10:14, 58 n. 67

b. Lycopolitan*Nag Hammadi Codices*

—I 33,35–37, 28–29

—II 52:25, 208

c. Middle Egyptian*Matthew*

—5:15, 19

—10:14, 58

—18:12, 20

d. Sahidic

Besa ed. Kuhn

vol. 1, 3,20–22, 38

British Museum 10,820

—f. 2r b 22–24, 18

—f. 2v a 5–7, 20

Budge, *Martyrdoms*

—128,15–16.20, 27

—132,27–28, 18–19

—234,29–32, 27

Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*

—51,16, 110

—148,14, 110

- "Catéchèse Christologique de
 Chenoute," ed. Lefort *Hebrews*
 —6:15, 33
 —42 (f. 83r), 26
*Catéchèse à propos d'un moine
 rancunier*, ed. Lefort (*Œuvres
 de S. Pachôme*) *Investiture of St. Michael
 Archangel* ed. Müller
 —16,13–17, 112
 —18,16–17, 31
 —18,20–21, 30–31
 —33,33–34,2, 27
 —vol. 1, 2,2–4, 34
 —vol. 1, 2,3, 33
 Charour, *Prophecy* ed. Lefort *Job*
 —vol. 1, 101,19–21 25
 —37:19, 91
 Cramer, *Totenklage* *John*
 —6 No. 1,11–13, 92
 —8 No. 2,27–28, 93
 —24 No. 7,18–19, 93
 —25 No. 8,17–18, 93
 —27 No. 9,15–17, 93
 —1:39, 27, 41
 —1:46, 41
 —4:35, 41
 —7:35, 19
 —7:37–38, 69
 —7:51, 41
 —11:34, 41
 Crum, *Papyruscodex*
 —6,9, 110
Eudoxia, Legend of *Luke*
 —6:37, 90
 —6:38, 90
 —10:19, 96
 —56,8–9, 31
Four Martyrdoms ed. Rey- *Mark*
 mond and Barns
 —11:29, 245
 —26, 23 n. 28

Matthew

- 5:15, 59, 65
- 7:7, 76, 79

Nag Hammadi Codices

- II 90,8–10, 20
- V 81,10–11, 44
- VI 15,5–7, 37
- VI 15,9–12, 37

Pierpont Morgan Library

- C8, f. 4r, 66
- M579, f. 110r *a* 26–33, 31
- M588, f. 29v *b* 19–25, 28
- M588, f. 30r *a* 38–*b* 2, 89
- M595, f. 32v *b* 32–34, 52
- M595, f. 64v *a* 10–11, 25
- M606, f. 2v *a* 24–26, 90
- M662B(12), 65

Pistis Sophia

- 9,8, 85
- 121,10–11, 85
- 168,7–8, 86 n. 100
- 170,14–15, 86 n. 100

Psote, Martyrdom of

- 38,7–8, 23 n. 28
- 38,23–25, 23 n. 28

Ruth

- 1:8, 43

Shenute. *See also* “Catéchèse Christologique de Chenoute”; *Vienna National Library K928*

Shenute (Pseudo-), *On Christian Behavior* ed. Kuhn

- vol. 1, 2,3–4, 69

Shenute ed. Amélineau

- vol. 1, 88,5–6, 51
- vol. 1, 205, 111
- vol. 1, 400,11–13, 11 n. 11
- vol. 2, 240,2–3, 97
- vol. 2, 240,3, 60
- vol. 2, 464,12–465,1, 60

Shenute ed. Chassinat

- 15,14–33, 66
- 26,4–16, 60
- 49,8–12, 66
- 63,1–7, 30
- 72,1–10, 46
- 85,26–31, 21
- 102,2–8, 10, 52
- 117,21–28, 40
- 120,25–29, 59
- 128,14–129,2, 29
- 141,39–42, 42 n. 55
- 146,52–57, 32, 46
- 158,3–6, 30
- 160,11–25, 10
- 180,37–41, 24
- 185,48–50, 41
- 195,8–17, 28
- 199,30–33, 43

Shenute ed. Chassinat

(continued)

—200,50–201,1, 42

—200,51–201,1, 19, 24

Shenute ed. Leipoldt

—III 19,4–7, 52

—III 31,3–6, 51–52

—III 65,24–26, 58

—III 67,5–6, 95

—III 125,14–18, 56–57

—III 176,3–4, 42

—IV 4,27–5,1, 81

—IV 39,4–8, 70

—IV 103,5–6, 55, 97

—IV 106,5–6, 56

—IV 131,14–15, 57

—IV 156,19–21, 21

—IV 180,3–4, 64

Shenute ed. Lucchesi, *Mélan-**ges Guillaumont*

—Fragment II a 7–9, 95

Sirach

—12:17(LXX16), 70

—34(LXX31):9, 77

—40:20–21(LXX22–23), 112

—43:34, 82

Till, *Heiligen- und Märtyrer-*
legenden

—vol. 1, 108, 88

Vienna National Library

—K928, 61

—K9228r a 9–10, 26

—K9664v b, 60

Wisdom of Solomon

—6:12(LXX11), 79

Index of Authors Cited

- Altenmüller, Hartwig, 221 n.
 19
 Amélineau, Émile, 11 n. 11,
 51, 60 (*bis*), 97, 111
 Arnould, Antoine, 253 n. 69
 Assmann, Jan, 197 n. 118
 Attridge, Harold W., 29 n. 40
 (*bis*)
 Baer, Klaus, 174 n. 85, 176 n.
 88, 192 n. 114
 Barns, J.W.B., 23 n. 28, 134 n.
 16
 Bingen, Jean, 65 n. 72
 Blackman, Aylward M., 130 n.
 11, 134 n. 16, 172 n.
 80, 242 n. 51, 248 n.
 61
 Blass, Fr., 192 n. 113
 Borghouts, Joris F., 4 n. 2, 22
 n. 28, 115
 Brakke, David, 28 n. 39
 Breasted, James Henry, 117
 n. 1
 Brockelmann, Carl, 165 n. 64
 Browne, G. Michael, 23 n. 28
 (*bis*), 23 n. 29, 115
 Bruns, Paulus Iacobus, 108 n.
 128
 Budge, E.A. Wallis, 18, 19 n.
 19, 27 (*bis*), 103 n.
 115, 110 (*bis*), 110 n.
 132, 209 n. 6
 Callender, John, 115
 Cather, Willa, 2-3, 2 n. 1
 Černý, Jaroslav, 83, 108 n.
 128, 113 n. 137, 115,
 189 n. 110, 190 n.
 111 (*bis*), 191 n. 112,
 194 n. 115, 219 n. 14,
 231 n. 32
 Chaîne, Marius, 23, 23 n. 29
 Champollion, Jean François,
 xi
 Chapman, Paul, 51 n. 63
 Chassinat, Émile, 10 (*bis*), 10
 n. 9, 19, 21, 24 (*bis*),
 28, 29, 30 (*bis*), 32,
 40, 41, 42, 42 n. 55,
 43, 44, 46 (*bis*), 52,
 59, 60, 66 (*bis*), 208
 n. 2
 Ciasca, Augustinus, 91 n. 104
 Clédat, Léon, 237 n. 45, 253
 n. 67, 253 n. 68, 253
 n. 69 (*bis*)
 Clère, J.J., 236 n. 43
 Collier, Mark, xvi n. 4, 132 n.
 14, 170 n. 77
 Couyat, Jules, 155 n. 49
 Cowan, Milton J., 127 n. 8

- Cramer, Maria, 92 n. 105
 Crum, Walter Ewing, 25 n. 30
 (bis), 66 n. 73 *(bis)*,
 110, 110 n. 133
 Davies, Nina de Garis, 228 n.
 29
 Davies, W. Vivian, 242 n. 51
 de Buck, Adriaan, 140 n. 28,
 166 n. 66, 209 n. 5,
 242 n. 51
 de Cenival, Françoise, 21 n.
 23
 de Cenival, Jean Louis, 195 n.
 117
 de Lagarde, Paul, 70 n. 78
 Dembska, Albertyna, 187 n.
 106
 Der Manuelian, Peter, 248 n.
 61
 Doret, Éric, 99 n. 110, 104 n.
 118, 105 n. 120, 106
 n. 122, 123 n. 3, 143
 n. 34, 168 n. 68, 169
 n. 71, 169 n. 72, 220
 n. 15
 Doyle, Arthur Conan, 120 n. 2
 Drake, Harold A., 31 n. 42
 Drioton, Étienne, 236 n. 41
 Edel, Elmar, 155 n. 48 *(bis)*
 Edgerton, William F., 189 n.
 110
 Edwards, Iorwerth Eiddar
 Stephen, 115
 Erman, Adolf, xi, 5 n. 5, 83,
 83 n. 95, 84 n. 96,
 187 n. 105, 187 n.
 106, 187 n. 107, 242
 n. 51
 Fischer-Elfert, Hans-Werner,
 237 n. 46
 Foster, John L., 178 n. 91,
 179 n. 92
 Frandsen, Paul John, 115
 Gardiner, Alan H., 7 n. 8, 15
 n. 14, 16 n. 16, 47 n.
 60, 49, 49 n. 62, 83 n.
 95, 104 n. 116, 108,
 108 n. 127, 109 n.
 130, 115, 141 n. 31,
 153 n. 45, 157 n. 51,
 157 n. 52, 158 n. 53,
 163 n. 62, 163 n. 63,
 170 n. 76, 174 n. 83,
 175 n. 87, 187 n. 105
 (bis), 209 n. 6 *(bis)*,
 219 n. 14, 220 n. 16,
 231 n. 33, 234 n. 35,
 234 n. 36 *(bis)*, 241 n.
 49 *(bis)*
 Gilula, Mordechai, 78 n. 88,
 130 n. 10 *(bis)*, 141 n.
 30, 153 n. 45, 154 n.
 47, 156 n. 50, 159 n.
 56, 159 n. 57, 192 n.
 113
 Glanville, Stephen Ranulph
 Kingdon, 10 n. 10
 Goedicke, Hans, 219 n. 14
 Graefe, Erhart, 130 n. 10
 Grapow, Herman, 150 n. 44,
 209 n. 6, 213 n. 9,
 221 n. 18, 222 n. 20,
 224 n. 23
 Green, Michael, 76 n. 86 *(bis)*,
 225 n. 27
 Greig, Gary, 178 n. 91

- Griffith, Francis Llewelyn, 36
n. 50, 40 n. 54, 215 n.
11, 234 n. 36, 240 n.
48
- Grimal, N.-C., 155 n. 49
- Groll, Sarah Israelit, 22 n. 28,
26 n. 35 (*bis*), 78 n.
88, 83 n. 94 (*bis*),
115, 158 n. 54, 163 n.
61, 163 n. 62, 173 n.
82, 178 n. 91, 198 n.
120, 231 n. 32
- Gunn, Battiscombe, xiv n. 2,
132 n. 14, 169 n. 70
(*ter*), 174 n. 86, 177
n. 90, 184 n. 98
- Hannig, Rainer, 239 n. 47
- Helck, Wolfgang, 157 n. 51,
228 n. 29
- Hintze, Fritz, 116, 163 n. 63,
189 n. 110, 247 n. 58
- Horner, George, 5 n. 5, 33 n.
45, 58 n. 67, 90 n.
103 (*bis*), 111 n. 136
- Hornung, Erik, 159 n. 58
- Imbs, Paul, 253 n. 70
- James, T.G.H., 174 n. 86
- Jéquier, Gustave, 209 n. 6
- Jespersen, Otto, 192 n. 113
- Johnson, Janet H., 10 n. 10,
76 n. 86, 78 n. 87,
104 n. 117, 116, 149
n. 42, 170 n. 77
- Junge, Friedrich, 106 n. 121
(*bis*), 130 n. 10, 147
n. 40, 160 n. 60, 166
n. 65, 187 n. 105, 212
n. 8
- Kirsch, Georgius Guilelmus,
108 n. 126
- Koch, Roland, 130 n. 11, 134
n. 16
- Kruchten, Jean-Marie, 188 n.
109
- Kuentz, Charles, 229 n. 31,
252, 252 n. 66
- Kuhn, Karl Heinz, 38, 38 n.
53, 69, 69 n. 77
- Lagarde. *See* de Lagarde
- Lancelot, Claude, 253 n. 69
- Lange, Hans Ostenfeldt, 22 n.
26, 35 n. 48, 35 n. 49
- Layton, Bentley, 12 n. 12, 20
n. 22 (*ter*), 26 n. 34,
33 n. 45, 68 n. 75,
208 n. 3
- Lefort, Louis Théophile, 25,
25 n. 30 (*ter*), 26, 26
n. 32, 33, 34 (*bis*), 68
n. 76, 76 n. 86 (*bis*)
- Leipoldt, Johannes, 21, 21 n.
24, 42, 42 n. 56, 52
(*bis*), 55, 56, 57 (*bis*),
58 (*bis*), 64, 70, 81,
95, 97 (*bis*)
- Lichtheim, Miriam, 116, 166
n. 65, 176 n. 89
- Lucchesi, Enzo, 95 n. 109
- MacCoull, Leslie B., 65 n. 72
- MacDermot, Violetta, 85 n. 98
- MacRae, George W., 29 n. 40,
37 n. 52, 44 n. 59
- Marx, Groucho, 117
- Mattha, Girgis, 42 n. 55, 108
n. 128, 116
- Maystre, Charles, 159 n. 58

- Meillet, Antoine, 107 n. 125
- Meltzer, Edmund S., 178 n. 91
- Montet, Pierre, 155 n. 49
- Morenz, Siegfried, 42 n. 55
- Müller, C. Detlef G., 27 n. 36
- Nachtergaeel, Georges, 65 n. 72
- Neugebauer, 22 n. 26, 22 n. 27
- Niccacci, Alviero, 147 n. 40 (*bis*), 195 n. 117
- Nims, Charles F., 116
- Nöldeke, Theodor, 107 n. 125
- Orlandi, Tito, 23 n. 28, 31 n. 42
- Parker, Richard A., 22 n. 27
- Parrott, Douglass M., 37 n. 52
- Paul, Hermann, 192 n. 113
- Pearson, Birger A., 31 n. 42
- Peet, T. Eric, 15 n. 14, 216 n. 12, 219 n. 14
- Pérez, Gonzalo Aranda, 59 n. 68
- Peyron, Amadeo, 5 n. 5
- Pleše, Zlatko, 25
- Polotsky, Hans Jacob, xv, xv n. 3, 26 n. 35, 31, 31 n. 43, 31 n. 44, 43 n. 57, 75 n. 85 (*bis*), 76 n. 86 (*ter*), 79 n. 89, 79 n. 80, 83, 84 n. 96, 84 n. 97, 91 n. 104, 99 n. 111, 110 n. 134, 123 n. 4, 129 n. 10 (*bis*), 130 n. 10, 131 n. 12, 132 n. 13, 132 n. 14 (*bis*), 133 n. 15, 134 n. 17, 135 n. 18, 137 n. 22, 138 n. 24, 141 n. 30, 142 n. 34, 148 n. 41 (*bis*), 149 n. 42, 150 n. 43, 153 n. 45, 167 n. 67, 168 n. 69, 170 n. 73, 170 n. 77, 177 n. 90, 180 n. 93, 184 n. 100, 186 n. 103, 186 n. 104, 187 n. 105 (*bis*), 189 n. 110, 192 n. 113, 192 n. 114, 209 n. 4, 211 n. 7, 232 n. 34, 235 n. 37, 236 n. 42, 243 n. 52, 245 n. 54
- Quecke, Hans, 19 n. 21, 90 n. 103, 245 n. 55
- Quirk, Randolph, 127
- Ray, John D., 116
- Revillout, Eugène, 92 n. 105, 93 (*ter*), 116
- Reymond, E.A.E., 23 n. 28
- Roby, Henry John, 138 n. 26
- Roccati, Alessandro, 185 n. 101
- Russell, Bertrand, 126 n. 5, 201
- Sander-Hansen, C.E., 160 n. 59
- Sauneron, Serge, 71 (*passim*), 71 n. 79, 71 n. 80, 71 n. 81, 72 (*passim*), 72 n. 82, 74, 116
- Scharff, Alexander, 215 n. 11
- Schenke, Hans-Martin, 19 n. 20
- Schenkel, Wolfgang, xvi n. 4, xviii n. 7, 99 n. 110,

Schenkel (*continued*)

104 n. 119, 105 n.
120, 106 n. 123, 107
n. 124, 130 n. 10, 135
n. 20, 142 n. 33, 147
n. 40, 160 n. 60, 168
n. 68, 169 n. 71, 170
n. 75, 197 n. 118, 247
n. 57, 249 n. 65,

Schmidt, Carl, 5 n. 4, 85 n.
98, 86 n. 100

Sethe, Kurt, 150 n. 43, 154 n.
47, 176 n. 89, 221 n.
17, 221 n. 18, 228 n.
30, 235 n. 40

Shisha-Halevy, Ariel, 1, 4 n.
2, 21 n. 25, 22 n. 28,
23 n. 28, 26 n. 31, 33
n. 46, 51 n. 63, 53 n.
64, 60 n. 69, 61 n. 70,
85 n. 98, 88 n. 101,
101 n. 113, 102 n.
114, 110 n. 134 (*bis*),
111 n. 136, 114 n.
138, 116, 153 n. 45,
192 n. 113 (*bis*)

Shore, A.F., 18 n. 18

Spiegelberg, 5 n. 5

Steindorff, Georg, 13 n. 13, 28
n. 38, 88

Steiner, Richard, 107 n. 125

Stern, Ludwig, 4 n. 3, 75, 75
n. 58, 92 n. 105, 93,
93 n. 107

Suys, Émile, 54 n. 65

Tait, W.J., 232 n. 34

Tesnière, Lucien, 111 n. 135

Théodoridès, Aristide, 174 n.
86

Thompson, Henry Francis
Herbert, 33 n. 45, 40
n. 54, 43 n. 58, 111 n.
136

Till, Walter, 88 n. 102, 93, 93
n. 108

Tresson, Paul, 160 n. 59

Ullmann, Manfred, 128 n. 9,
254 n. 71

Vandier, Jacques, 236 n. 43

Vergote, Jozef, 116

Vernus, Pascal, 117 n. 1 (*bis*),
130 n. 10, 140 n. 27,
141 n. 30, 147 n. 40
(*bis*), 160 n. 60, 193
n. 114, 194 n. 115,
208 n. 1, 235 n. 37,
236 n. 44

Vogelsang, F., 141 n. 31, 170
n. 76, 209 n. 6, 220 n.
16

Volten, Aksel, 108 n. 128, 116,
195

von Deines, Hildegard, 223 n.
22, 224 n. 24

Wehr, Hans, 127 n. 8

Weidmann, Frederick, 28, 89

Weinrich, Harald, 28 n. 37

Wente, Edward F., 6 n. 7, 15
n. 14, 22 n. 27, 22 n.
28, 116, 158 n. 54,
163 n. 61, 172 n. 79,
173 n. 81, 174 n. 83,
189 n. 110, 192 n.
113, 198 n. 119

- Wesley, J., 226 n. 28
Wessely, Carl, 26 n. 33, 60
Westendorf, Wolfhart, 221 n.
18, 222 n. 21, 223
- n. 22, 224 n. 24, 236
n. 44, 247 n. 56
Yvon, Henri, 253 n. 69

General Index

This index includes Egyptian and Coptic words in transcription.

- ^h “rise, (stative) be standing,” as a verb expressing both a process and a state, 164
- ^h.*n* “Then. . .,” as an auxiliary contracting a relationship of contiguity with past verb forms immediately following it, 186–88
- Absence of elements
- as an English equivalent of the Egyptian and Coptic conjunctive, 1–3, 9–11, 95–96, 103–8, and *passim* in Part I
 - compared to “omission” of elements, 2
 - different effects of, 67
 - e.g. of Coptic *auō* “and” in the asyndetic perfect chain, 27
 - e.g. of equivalents of “and” outside Egyptian (Arabic, Armenian, Hebrew, Syriac), 107–8, 107 n. 125, 187–88, 188 n. 107
 - e.g. of the copula in a nominal sentence, 30
- Adjective-verbs, general meaning of, 164
- Adverbial phrases: number of, emphasized by Second Tenses and “emphatic” verb forms in the conjunctive, 14
- Adverbial verb forms as a grammatical category: xiii, 118, 131, 133–36, and *passim* in Part II
- ὅν (Greek particle), as an expression of contingency, 254
- Anau* “See!” (imperative of Coptic *nau* “see”), meaning of, 40–41
- Anteriority: as an expression of contiguity, 117–18, and *passim* in Part II; as a type of relationship between events, xii, xiv
- “Anticipatory emphasis” (Gardiner), 130 n. 10, 147 n. 40
- Aorist: contingent and non-contingent, *passim* in 208–33; meaning of the term, 211–12. *See also* *Jw=f sdm=f* and *n sdm.n=f* (Middle Egyptian); *sdm.hr=f*, *hr=f sdm=f* (Middle Egyptian); *hr sdm=f* and *bw jr=f sdm* (Late Egyptian and Demotic); *hr jr=f sdm* (Demotic); *ša=f-sōtm* and *me=f-sōtm* (Coptic)
- Asyndetic perfect chain in Coptic
- as narrative counterpart of the conjunctive, 26–34

Asyndetic perfect chain in Coptic (*continued*)

—compared with Greek originals, 33

—number of words separating two perfects in the, 29

Auō “and” (Coptic): absence of, in asyndetic perfect chains, 27; presence and absence of, in the conjunctive chain, 114

Berlin School, xi

Bw jr=f sdm “He does not hear,” as negative aorist of Late Egyptian and Demotic, 227, 231

Causality, as a relation between events quite distinct from contingency, 201–4, 225–27

Chameleon, as a symbol for the alleged function of the conjunctive, 4

Chicago Oriental Institute School, 123 n. 3

Compound action, as a term denoting the single notion expressed by the conjunctive chain, 5–6, and *passim* in Part I

Conditionnel (French), expressing contingency, 251–54

Conditions. *See* Contingency; contingent tenses; *jr* “if”

Con-joining, as a term describing the function of the conjunctive, 11–12 n. 12, and *passim* in Part I

Conjunction. *See also* Conjunction; conjunctive chain

—as a combination of coordination and subordination, 101–2

—as a function of the conjunctive, 1–3, 5–6, 8, and *passim* in Part I

—as a neologism, xi–xii

—as expressed in Coptic nominal phrases by *hi* “and,” 109–10

—different degrees of effect of, in function of the type of component actions in the conjunctive chain, 12, 67–74

—sharing with contiguity the expression of intimate relations between two events, 188

—summary of thesis regarding, as a type of relationship between events, 1–3

Conjunctive. *See also* Conjunction; conjunctive chain

—alleged final or consecutive meaning, 6

—alleged past meaning, 6–7

—allegedly emphasized by substantival verb forms, 22, 22–23 n. 28

—as non-narrative counterpart of the Coptic asyndetic perfect chain and Late Egyptian *jw=f hr (tm) sdm*, 26–34

—as object of certain verbs, 13

—equivalents in Egyptian and other languages, 103–8

—etymology, 108–9

Conjunctive (*continued*)

- following prepositions, 13
- following Second Tenses and “emphatic” verb forms, 14–34
- means of translation into modern languages, 18–19, 72, 94–97, and *passim* in Part I
- relationship with what precedes in the sentence, 98–102
- rule determining degree of semantic effect of the, 68
- traditional views regarding function of the, 4–7
- used elliptically, 13
- use of the, outside conjunction, 13, 113–14

Conjunctive chain. *See also* Conjunction; conjunctive

- definition, 5–6
- division of functional workload in the, 11
- semantic types of the, 67–74

Conjunctivus futuri, history of the term, 75. *See also* Promissive future

Consequence, expression of: as alleged meaning of the contingent tenses, 203–4, 225–27

Contiguity

- as distinct from other temporal relationships between events, 125–26
- as illustrated by *Sinuhe* B 200, 129–39
- as neologism, xi–xii
- expressions of: in Arabic, 127–29, 153 n. 46; in English, 126–27
- means of translation into modern languages, 142–44
- related to contingency in expressing intimate relations between two events, 188
- summary of hypothesis regarding, as a type of relationship between events, 117–22

“Contiguous,” meaning of the term, 126

Contingency

- and contrastive emphasis, 255
- as a neologism, xi–xii
- general and specific, 232–33
- summary of hypothesis regarding, as a type of relationship between events, 201–7

Contingent tenses: means of translating into modern languages, 250; parallels of, in other languages, 251–54

Contingent tenses (*continued*)

See also $\text{S}\dot{\text{d}}\text{m}.\text{h}\text{r}=\text{f}$ (contingent aorist); $\text{s}\dot{\text{d}}\text{m}.\text{j}\text{n}=\text{f}$ (contingent past); $\text{s}\dot{\text{d}}\text{m}.\text{k}3=\text{f}$ (contingent future)

Continuative construction, as an expression of conjunction, 104–7, 149 n. 42. *See also* $\text{J}\text{w}=\text{f} \text{h}\text{r} (\text{tm}) \text{s}\dot{\text{d}}\text{m}$

Coordination, as a grammatical category applied to the function of the conjunctive jointly with subordination, 98, 101–2

Crossroads I and II (International Conferences on Egyptian Grammar), xvii–xviii

Cum inversum (Latin), compared to the expression of contiguity in Middle Egyptian, 129 n. 10, 138–39 n. 26

Effect, expression of: as the alleged meaning of the contingent tenses, 203–4

Emphasis, contrastive

—and contingency, 255

—apparent profusion of, in the Story of Sinuhe, 178

—as an expression of contiguity, 121, 140–41, and *passim* in Part II

—in the conjunctive chain, 14–34

“Emphatic verb form,” as a term distinct from “substantival verb form,” 172 n. 78

Erman, Adolf, xi

Exaggeration. *See* Hyperbole

Future conjunctive, history of the term, 75. *See also* Promissive future

Gerund, English: as an appropriate, though rarely idiomatic, translation of adverbial verb forms, xiii

Gmj “find” in Late Egyptian: negative imperative of, followed by a conjunctive, 35–37

$\text{H}\dot{\text{q}}.\text{n} \text{t}3$ “When it dawned. . . ,” as an expression of contiguity, 153–59

Hi “and” (Coptic), used to express conjunction in nominal phrases, 109–112

$\text{H}\text{m}\text{s}\text{j}$ “sit, (stative) be seated,” as a verb expressing both a process and a state, 164

$\text{H}\text{n}^{\text{c}}$ “with,” as component of the etymological ancestor of the conjunctive, 83, 108–9

$\text{H}\text{r}=\text{f} \text{s}\dot{\text{d}}\text{m}=\text{f}$. *See* $\text{S}\dot{\text{d}}\text{m}.\text{h}\text{r}=\text{f}$

$\text{H}\text{r} \text{s}\dot{\text{d}}\text{m}=\text{f}$, as (contingent?) aorist in Late Egyptian, 227–32

$\text{H}\text{r}.\text{t}\text{w} \text{s}\dot{\text{d}}\text{m}.\text{t}\text{w}=\text{f}$, a probable example of, 227–28 n. 29

Hyperbole: as a means of expressing contiguity, 120, 137, 192 n. 113,
and *passim* in Part II

īde "Seel" (Greek), meaning and construction of, 40–41

Initiality, as a grammatical category, 98–101

In šā'a llāh "God willing," as an expression of contingency, 254

Jerusalem School, xv

Jnj "bring": alleged meaning "fetch" of, 190–91; combined with *jwj*
"come," 189–91

Jr (particle)

—followed by nouns as an equivalent of "as for": followed in turn by
jw=f sdm=f in the Middle Kingdom, 209–11; followed in turn
by *hr sdm=f* in the New Kingdom, 228–31

—followed by verbs as an equivalent of "if": followed in turn by
contingent tenses, 213, 234, 247, and *passim* in Part III;
followed immediately by independent statements forming
part of the protasis, as if in parenthesis, 222–23 n. 22

Jw (particle). *See also* *Jw=f hr sdm*; *jw=f hr (tm) sdm*; *jw=f r sdm*;
jw=f sdm=f

—absence of, as an expression of contiguity, 103–4

—contrast between independent and dependent function of, 131–133,
132–33 n. 14, 177 n. 90

—evolution in meaning from independence to subordination, com-
pared to that of the adverbial verb forms in Egyptian,
131–33, 132–33 n. 14

Jw=f hr sdm "while he is hearing" (Middle Egyptian), following a
substantival verb form in a construction expressing contigu-
ity through simultaneity, 194–95

Jw=f hr (tm) sdm "and he did (not) hear" (Late Egyptian). *See also*
Continuative construction

—as narrative counterpart of the conjunctive, 26

—as "non-initial main sentence," 99–100

—following *wnn=f hr sdm* in a construction expressing contiguity
through simultaneity, 192–95

Jw=f r sdm "He will hear" (Middle Egyptian): rare occurrence of, in
the apodosis of *jr* "if," 236, 249

Jw=f sdm=f "He hears" (Middle Egyptian)

—absence of *jw* in, as an expression of conjunction, 103–4

Jw=f sdm=f (continued)

—as expression of the (non-contingent) aorist in Middle Egyptian, 209–14, 219–20, 249

—relation to contingent aorist *sdm.hr=f*, 212–14, 222–25

Jwj/jjj “come”: as a verb expressing an event prone to contracting a relationship of contiguity, 174–77; combined with *jnj* “bring,” 189–91

Jw sdm.n.f “He has heard, he heard” (Middle Egyptian): as a verb form expressing past events narrated from the point of view of the present, 168–70; as non-contingent past, 249

K3: as a particle expressing contingency, 242–43; followed by a noun, as a possible elliptical *k3=f* (*sdm=f*), 242 n. 50

κεν, κε (particle in Homeric Greek), as an expression of contingency, 254

Languages outside Egyptian and Coptic discussed in the present work

—Arabic, xiii, 165 n. 64, 187–88, 254

—Armenian, 107 n. 125

—English, xiii, 1–3, 9–10, 40, 73 n. 83, 94–97, 119–120, 142 n. 32, 142–43 n. 34, 166 n. 65

—French, 127, 237 n. 45, 251–54

—German, 40, 127, 142 n. 33, 254

—Greek, 40–41, 58–59, 76 n. 86, 77, 254

—Hebrew, 188 n. 107

—Latin, 40, 129 n. 10, 138–39 n. 26

—Syriac (Classical), 107–8, 107 n. 125

—Tagalog, 109

Me=f sōtm “He does not hear,” as negative aorist of Coptic, 227

Mjn3 (Middle Egyptian adverb), perhaps always meaning “there where you are,” 174 n. 85

Mk (Middle Egyptian particle), 170–71

Mood, as a property of verb forms as expressions of single events, xii
Nau “see” (Coptic)

—conjunctive of, following an imperative, 41

—meaning of the affirmative imperative of (*anau*), 40–41

—negative imperative of, followed by a conjunctive, 37–40

—relation to Late Egyptian *nw* “look” and Demotic *nw* “look, see,” 39–40 n. 54

- Nci* (Coptic): behavior of, in the conjunctive and asyndetic perfect chains, 42–44
- Negations in the conjunctive chain (and the asyndetic perfect chain)
—“canceling” of, 53–56
—the six types of, 49–66
—the two levels of, 45–49
- Neologisms, value of, xi, xv
- Neutralization of contingent and non-contingent tenses, 224–25, 243–44
- Nfr* “become good, (stative) be good,” as a verb expressing both a process and a state, 164
- Nn*, negation, 175
- Non-initiality, as a grammatical category, 98–101
- N sdm=f*. See *Sdm=f*, negation of
- N sdm.n=f*. See *Sdm.n=f*, negation of
- Omission of elements, as a device for translating the conjunctive, 94–96. See also Absence of elements
- Overlapping of events. See Contiguity
- Parallelism, as a principle of Egyptian grammar, 149–50
- Past tense, absolute and relative, xiii
- Ph* “arrive, reach,” as a verb expressing an event prone to contracting a relationship of contiguity, 167–73
- Polotsky, Hans Jacob: and the Standard Theory, xv
- Polotskian theory. See Standard Theory
- Posteriority, as a type of relationship between events, xii, xiv
- Praesens consuetudinis*, as a term designating Coptic *ša=f-sōtm*, 211–12
- Promissive future (“future conjunctive,” *tare=f-sōtm*)
—as a term, 78–79
—associations with the conjunctive in grammars, 82–88
—evolution in post-Classical Sahidic, 81, 88–89, 92–93
—first person singular as an overlap point between the conjunctive and the, 89
—four components of the function or meaning of the, 77–78
—function, 76–77
—function compared to that of the conjunctive, 80–82
—history of research on the, 75–76, 83, 93
—Late Egyptian and Demotic predecessors, 77–78, 84

Promissive future (*continued*)

—type of dependency expressed by the, 83–84

Ptr “see” (Late Egyptian): followed by a conjunctive in wishes, 38–39

Qad (Arabic) followed by the Imperfect, as an expression of contingency, 254

Relationships between events, general remarks on, xi–xiv

Relative tense, the principle of: as an expression of relationships between events, xii–xiv, 6–7; formulation of, xii

Result, expression of: as alleged meaning of the contingent tenses, 203–4, 216, 225–27

Ša=f-sōtm “He hears” (aorist)

—as descendant of Egyptian verb forms containing the morpheme *hr*, 208–12

—used instead of preterite conversion *ne ša=f-sōtm* “He would hear”

Sdm=f

—adverbial and independent use, 132–33 n. 14

—negation of (*n sdm=f*), in the continuative construction?, 104–5

—of intransitive verbs in Late Egyptian functioning as “emphatic” verb form, 162–63 n. 61, 198

Sdm.hr=f (*hr=f sdm=f*) “Then he hears”

—as contingent aorist of Middle Egyptian, 208–27, 249

—dependent on implied conditions, showing that contingency is inherent in the verb form itself, not a function of the context, 214–22

—negation of, 221–22

—relation to non-contingent aorist *ju=f sdm=f*, 212–14, 222–25

Sdm.jn=f “Then he heard,” as contingent past of Middle Egyptian, 247–8, 249

Sdm.k3=f (*k3=f sdm=f*; *k3 sdm=f*) “Then he will hear”

—alternation with the contingent aorist, 230–31, 235 n. 37, 249–50

—as contingent future of Middle and Late Egyptian, 234–46, 249

—Coptic equivalent, 244–46

—dependent on implied conditions, showing that contingency is inherent in the verb form itself, not a function of the context, 237–40

—following contrary-to-fact conditions, 241

Sdm.n=f

—affirmative adverbial and substantival, xiii, 133–35, and *passim* in Part II

—as part of the continuative construction, 104–7

—negation of (*n sdm.n=f*): as negative aorist of Middle Egyptian, 210–11, 227; used both independently and adverbially, xiii, xiv

—views of, according to the Standard Theory, 123–24, 130 n. 10

Sdm.n.tw=f, as a substantival verb form, 131, 186

Sḏr “lie down, (stative) be lying” or “enter the night, (stative) spend the night,” as a verb expressing both a process and a state, 164–66

Shenute, logic in the works of, 61–65

Siehe “See!” (German), meaning of, 40

Simultaneity: as an expression of contiguity, 192–96; as a type of relationship between events, xii, xiv

Spr “arrive, reach,” as a verb expressing an event prone to contracting a relationship of contiguity, 24, 173–74

Standard Theory (Polotskyan theory)

—adverbial verb forms in the, 118 n. 1, 132–33 n. 14

—analysis of *sdm.n=f* according to the, 123–24, and *passim* in Part II

—critical discussions of the, xvi n. 4

—definition, xv–xvi

—genesis, xvi n. 4

—syntactic function according to the, xii

Subordination, as a grammatical category applied to the function of the conjunctive jointly with coordination, 98, 101–2

“Substantival verb form,” as a term distinct from “emphatic verb form,” 172 n. 78

Syntactic function, as a property of verb forms as expression of single events, xii

Tare (Coptic conjugation pattern). *See* Promissive future

Tare=f-sōtm. *See* Promissive future

Tense: as a possible type of relationship between events, xii n. 1; as a property of verb forms as expressions of single events, xii.

See also Relative tense

“Thought couplet” (Foster), 178–79

- Transitions from one period of time to another, as events prone to contracting relationships of contiguity, 152–67
- Translation, literal versus idiomatic, xiii
- Vidēre* “see” (Latin), meaning of the imperative of (*vide*), 40
- Wax impressed by a seal, as a symbol for the alleged function of the conjunctive, 4
- “Wechselsatz,” 118 n. 1, 122, 130 n. 11, 147 n. 40, 162, 178, 195–96
- Wn=f sdm=f* “He would hear,” as past or preterite conversion of *iw=f sdm=f* “He hears,” 214, 219–220
- Wn.jn=f hr sdm* “Then he heard,” as contingent past in Middle and Late Egyptian, 247–48
- Wnn=f hr sdm* “As soon as he heard. . .,” expressing events contracting a relationship of contiguity with other events, 192–95